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Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Magazine Article Analyzes Biarritz Conference

95AF0019A Paris *JEUNE AFRIQUE* in French
23 Nov 94 pp 1-15

[Article by special correspondent Francois Soudan:
"Underbelly of a Summit"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two powerful images, one grand and the other petty, capture the story of the 18th Franco-African summit at Biarritz. Late in the morning of Wednesday 9 November, Francois Mitterrand had just concluded the second plenary closed-door session in the great hall of the municipal casino. Spontaneously, some 30 heads of state and delegation leaders in attendance rose to their feet with great solemnity and emotion and stood in a row to pay silent tribute as the French president passed before them. Astonished, the aging leader stopped in his tracks, then slowly and with much feeling shook hands with each one, before leaving the hall on the arm of Malian president Alpha Oumar Konare, 30 years his junior. In this, Mitterrand's last appearance at a meeting of this type, with but 6 months left in his term and in the sunset of his years, he was more than entitled to this Fontainebleau farewell from his African counterparts, some of whom were hard pressed to hold back tears.

And elsewhere... Late in the evening of Tuesday 8 November, while the host of the summit [i.e. Mitterrand] was treating participants to a gala dinner at the Palace hotel, another man—a frightened, hunted man—a man who (one could almost see it in his anguished, blue eyes) though facing some supreme ordeal was weary beyond all measure—searched in vain for a secret exit through which to disappear. Michel Roussin, France's minister of cooperation, was behaving like a gendarme suddenly disgraced through no fault of his own: non-plussed and paralyzed. Earlier, that afternoon, the media had announced he was on the point of being summoned before an examining judge. Five days later he would resign. But for now, the man who once had been Jacques Chirac's chief of staff was still trying to escape the pack of cameras, microphones, and photographers waiting for him in the lobby. And then, in despair, he chose to sneak out, through the kitchen, to the stupefied stares of the scullions.

The Biarritz conference was so dominated by the farewell to the aging chief and by the intrusions of French domestic politics in the run-up to the next presidential elections that matters of real importance were relegated wholly to the sidelines. The mood of farewell, with its sometimes awkward funereal overtones—and of suffering—was all-pervasive. "Mitterrand is in constant pain," a confidant explained. "He fights the disease that is devouring him, so that nothing will show through when he's in public; but when he has a chance to relax and shut the world out, he drops the mask and grimaces from the pain." But also, and to the very end, Francois Mitterrand will have to fight the accusations being leveled by critics

in France and abroad who are disappointed, even scandalized, by his Africa policy. In private, he is bitter about the polemical commentaries on Rwanda—a half dozen of them landed in the bookstores on the eve of the summit—accusing him of "passive complicity in genocide." "The new humanitarian crusaders have no real positions: They only posture. Do they want me to do what the Americans did with Noriega? Do they want me to send troops to capture Mobutu? Well, let them put it on paper and sign their names to it! That they'll never do. Their 'morality' is nothing but neo-Carterism." Meanwhile, in reaction to this "summary trial" in the media, the Elysee a week before Biarritz had disseminated to editorial staffs at several Paris journals a long "pro domo" argument for the defense that boils down to the three concluding lines: "No, France is not responsible for all the afflictions of Africa... No, cooperation is not just shady deals and intrigue... No, there is no magic shortcut to democracy."

And Mitterrand, again to the bitter end, truly made the Biarritz summit "his" event. For example, as we know, he refused to invite the new government of Rwanda. For reasons that are both debatable and fairly confused—including francophobic statements made by General Paul Kagame and the defection of Rwanda's minister of foreign affairs—unless, of course, the real reason could have been, as a member of his entourage let slip, that "the FPR [Rwandan Patriotic Front] must learn that it is not our central preoccupation." We know too that the French president refused to invite Sudan to these meetings despite Khartoum's request, and that the invitation sent to Gambian former president Dawda Jawara was withdrawn after his 22 July ouster, to prevent putschist Lieutenant Yaya Jammeh from exploiting it to his advantage. The Elysee also sent messages on the eve of the summit to the rulers of three "problem" countries. One letter, courteous in tone, was to Cameroonian President Paul Biya (see JA no. 1766); the other two, somewhat stronger, were to Togo's President Eyadema and Zaire's Mobutu. The language of the Mobutu letter was especially harsh: Mitterrand enjoined him in effect to "give full support" to his prime minister, Kengo Wa Dondo, adding that Zaire would get no aid from the Western countries until Zaire's economic and financial mess is "cleaned up." In passing, he informed Mobutu that Interpol had been asked "to investigate trafficking activities, especially counterfeit trafficking, on the part of his close associates." As it turned out, the treatment addressees were accorded at Biarritz was partly determined by their response to those missives. Biya, who on 2 November announced the launching of a national constitutional debate, was rewarded by a private meeting with Mitterrand; Eyadema, who placed Lieutenant Colonel Djoua, the head of his guard, under close arrest (for 45 days, "renewable," he said), was also graciously received. Only Mobutu—who "did nothing," according to sources in Paris—was pointedly snubbed by Mitterrand and Prime Minister Balladur.

It is true that the French president, who tires quickly, did not grant many private audiences. But he did manage to hold talks with Alpha Oumar Konare, whom he likes and sees as the model of the "new" African leadership. And he saw Central Africa's Ange Patasse, at the latter's request—Patasse was bearing a personal message from Libyan Colonel Muammar Qadhafi concerning the UTA DC-10 affair. Whatever may have been the tenor of the message, it had no visible effect on Mitterrand. And Edouard Balladur? "The prime minister is making efforts, and thus progress," one observer confides. "He realizes a presidential candidate could not neglect Africa, especially since Jacques Chirac was absent." Accompanied by his diplomatic adviser, Bernard de Montferrand; by Anne Le Laurier, who is increasingly making her weight felt as "Mrs. Post-devaluation" of the CFA franc; and by the brand-new "Mr. Africa" on his staff, Jean-Michel Lacroix (who replaces Philippe Baudillon in the slot), Balladur spent a great deal of time at the Palace hotel holding talks with such leaders as Henri Konan Bedie, Omar Bongo, and Abdou Diouf. All to the complete indifference of the media.

The latter, typified by the television crews of Canal Plus, were following their conditioned reflexes, slavishly dogging Mobutu, Bongo, Bedie, Bruno Delaye, and the summit security chief. As will doubtless often be the case over the next 6 months, many French politicians had other things on their minds. Foreign Minister Alain Juppe was thinking about the mayoralty of Bordeaux, and Charles Pasqua diverted attention from the summit by holding a press conference in Paris on "GIA [armed Islamist group] terrorist networks," a fact that gave the heads of state in their rooms much food for thought. The message was clear: No serious problems should erupt in Africa between now and the elections, because hardly anyone in France will be in a position to pay attention to them. So, from Mali to the Congo and from Niger to Chad, the screws are being tightened on countries deemed "at risk," and the breaches are being filled: Supplemental budgetary support is being freed up to pay a portion of government worker wages, and special

agents of DGSE [General Directorate for External Security]—whose director, Jacques Dewatre, hovered discreetly in the shadows at Biarritz—are being sent on missions overseas.

Many of the presidents found their interest piqued by the vagaries of domestic French politics or the Wednesday CANARD ENCHAINE ("So, are they going to keep tearing each other to pieces forever?" one of them asked his fellows several times a day), but it was quite clear that the other things, that is, the essential things, escaped them. The debt, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, Burundi, Angola or the debate on the interafrican peace force (an ill-prepared subject with fuzzy edges) were thus addressed in often confused exchanges. Even if one knows, for example, that the intervention battalion must not be a type of Holy Alliance for threatened regimes and that it has to answer to the "civilized" definition of security given by Francois Mitterrand ("fewer presidential guards and commando paratroopers, more gendarmes and police"), everyone ignores who will finance it and what place the African anglophone countries will have in it. The non-francophone states were the great forgotten ones at the eighteenth summit to which they were invited like distant country cousins. Mugabe, the Zimbabwean, who struggled with the simultaneous translation, nevertheless found time to mention by name the "dictatorships" which in his eyes are Nigeria and Sierra Leone. Yet no one was really interested in Ethiopia's Zenawi, despite the fact he has decided to open, less than a month from now in Addis Ababa, the biggest public trial in Africa's history—the trial of former Mengistu regime officials. Much less in Eritrea's Afewerki, even though he is one of the most remarkable statesmen of the new generation. On Sunday 13 November, the microphones and cameras preferred to pursue Michel Roussin, who at the time was still unaware that later the same day he would be replaced by Bernard Debre. Roussin, cornered on the beach by the media pack, at first turned halfway round as if to flee. "We must continue, Mr. Minister," an aide whispered to him. And so, like a brave soldier, he stepped forward. In the media's tireless hunt for fresh meat, it was he who was the quarry of the day.

Chad

Authorities Arrest 5 on Coup Plot Charges

AB1512171794 London BBC World Service in English
1515 GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] It seems there has been yet another plot against the government of Idriss Deby in Chad. The government continues to be beleaguered by conspiracies and by rebellions. Now the authorities say a number of people have been arrested and weapons seized. From Ndjamen, Wolf Abby Koty telexed this report:

The Ministry of Interior announced today that the security forces had arrested five people connected with a plot against the state. Interior Minister Abderamane Miskine Izzo broke the news and revealed to the press that the arrest had come following several days of investigations last week. The minister named in particular one Commandant Rahmadane Bow Mizo, said to be a leader of the FAIDT, Front for the Restoration of Democracy in Chad. Also arrested were Soumane Bashir, said to be a member of the MDD, Movement for Democracy and Development.

The other three men were identified by name: Soumane Bashir, Zacharia Mahamat, and Mahamat Tamit, described only as an intellectual. A quantity of arms and ammunition was also seized including an RPG-7, and several automatic weapons. Documents relating to a deal between the FAIDT and the MDD were also recovered, which the minister said showed that the two movements were in league. There were also lists of FAIDT activists and members whom the government suspects of operating under cover in Ndjamen.

When members of the press put it to the minister that the amount of weapons seized was really quite small, he said that the government had acted in the nick of time to stop a greater weapons' store being built up. Rumors of undercover movements have been circulating in Ndjamen for some time, and the government has instituted a series of searches in the capital to clamp down on illegal weapons, but many people believe that the government has been making false claims.

Rwanda

Vice President Appeals to U.S. for Aid

EA1312200294 Kigali Radio Rwanda in English 1145
GMT 13 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Rwandan vice president and minister for defense, Major General Paul Kagame, who is still on his visit to [the] United States, has appealed to the U.S. Government to help his country recover from civil war and set up a legal system so that all criminals of genocide can be brought to justice.

Meanwhile, the UNHCR says it will begin repatriating some 350,000 Rwandan refugees in increasingly violent camps in southwestern Rwanda, in what it has termed as a return operation. According to one of the military officers of the Unamir [UN Assistance Mission to Rwanda], the operation will repatriate refugees voluntarily, and within a period of 10 days it will have started effectively. It is meant to solve the problems of increased security [as heard] in the former French security zone.

Repatriation Agreement Signed in Burundi

EA1412172594 Kigali Radio Rwanda in French 1115
GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Rwandan Government, the UNHCR, and the Burundian Government have just concluded an agreement on the repatriation of Rwandan refugees living in Burundi. The agreement, which was reached this morning by Minister Seth Sendashonga on the Rwandan side, Ambassador (Tharcisse Semidongi) on the Burundian side, and by (Wenceslas Romanivi Ouvrasa), the UNHCR representative in Rwanda, at the UNHCR headquarters in Kigali, concerns the right of all refugees to return to the fold and the voluntary nature of the repatriation and establishes the responsibilities of all the signatories. Rwandan Interior Minister Seth Sendashonga briefs us on the undertakings made by the parties concerned.

[Begin recording] [Sendashonga] The parties have undertaken to respect the voluntary nature of the repatriation. The Burundian Government has undertaken to grant access to Rwandan and UNHCR officials to the refugee camps and to Burundian territory for activities linked to this repatriation. Rwanda has also made undertakings in this agreement as far as the security and the dignified return of the Rwandan refugees is concerned, and the UNHCR has made undertakings regarding training, organization, and logistics to provide for and to repatriate the refugees who are in Burundi, and that's it. Those are the terms of the agreement we have just signed and which carries the undertakings of all sides. [Words indistinct] as far as the Rwandan Government is concerned of course, we intend to carry the undertakings out fully and to do our best to ensure that this agreement is implemented as soon as possible.

[Unidentified correspondent] If the will to carry this process through exists, when do you expect to complete the repatriation of all the refugees currently living in Burundi?

[Sendashonga] First, we have to set up an implementation committee for the agreement we have just signed. The Rwandan Government will appoint its representatives to this committee as early as tomorrow, and the Burundian Government will, of course, do this with the same diligence, and as far as the UNHCR is concerned, everything has already been decided. It is their representative here and the UNHCR representative in Bujumbura who will represent the UNHCR on the committee,

so we believe we can get this started very quickly. For the number it entails, it is a task which is only limited by the [words indistinct] encountered by the UNHCR as far as logistics are concerned. As for us, we would like to complete this operation within a month.

[Correspondent] [passage omitted] For the Burundian side, Ambassador (Tharcisse Semidonzi) expressed his complete satisfaction with the signing of this agreement, all the more so because the Rwandan refugees constitute a very heavy burden for the Burundian authorities.

[(Semidonzi)] We are very pleased with the signing of this agreement because, of course, as you say, [word indistinct] which weighs heavily on Burundi. As you know, we have problems at home [words indistinct] a grave crisis above all at the National Assembly but we are trying to deal with it. All the politicians involved are trying to find a solution but with the signing of this tripartite agreement between Burundi, Rwanda, and the UNHCR for the repatriation of the Rwandan refugees in Burundi, we hope to be able to solve some of our domestic problems—and we need to do this—above all problems of security. We.... [pauses] we (?offer our congratulations) on the signing of this agreement. [end recording]

Unamir Troops Disarm 'Criminal Elements'

*EA1512161394 Kigali Radio Rwanda in French 1115
GMT 15 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Criminal elements were caught yesterday in the camps for displaced persons in

Kibeho and Ndago, Gikongoro Prefecture. The search operation for troublemakers, who are none other than the Interahamwe and former government soldiers, was carried out by around 2,000 UN Assistance Mission to Rwanda [Unamir] blue berets. During the disarming operation, weapons of all kinds, varying from machetes, axes, firearms and grenades, were seized. Around 30 people suspected of participating in the genocide were apprehended.

The UN decision to intervene in the camps for displaced persons and disarm criminal elements came about after some acts of violence were carried out in the camps for displaced persons. The outlaws no longer even hesitate to attack humanitarian convoys of nongovernmental organizations [NGO's]. The security situation in the southwest of our country has deteriorated recently; that is in the prefecture of Kibuye, Cyangugu, and Gikongoro. A Unamir report issued recently talked of an increase in violence caused by the Interahamwe and former government soldiers. The report emphasized that they had committed many crimes in the camps for displaced persons, most notably against people who had had the wisdom of returning to their homes and against those who could denounce them.

The Rwandan Government wants all displaced persons to return home before the end of the year. Within this framework, NGO's operating in the region were asked to encourage the displaced persons to return home. [passage omitted]

Kenya

Police Arrest 61 in 'Oathing Ritual'

EA1512104894 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0400 GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Police have arrested 61 people suspected to have been involved in an oathing ritual in Laikipia District. The Rift Valley PC [Provincial Commissioner], Mr. Ishmael Chelang'a, said police raided a house at Ngarua where they found 80 people on the 12th of this month. Mr. Chelang'a said the 61 were arrested in the night raid while other suspects escaped. The PC, who was accompanied by the provincial police officer, Mr. Francis Sang, and the criminal investigations officer, Mr. David Korir, showed the press some items that police recovered which included a skin, some sticks and needles, and photographs of various people.

Mr. Chelang'a also said that a board inscribed with the words—Mungiki, the Patriotic Nationalist Movement, Kenya Restoration of Democracy, Haki, and Maendeleo—was found on the door. The PC said the police had acted after being alerted by wananchi [citizens].

Further Suspects Arrested

EA1512195394 Nairobi KNA in English 1555 GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Nakuru, 15 Dec (KNA)—Five more suspects in the alleged Jamhuri Day oathing ceremony in Laikipia District, who had escaped police arrest, were today rounded up by members of the public in Kabarnet, Baringo District in Rift Valley Province, where they were spotted early this morning.

The Rift Valley provincial commissioner [PC], Mr. Ishmael Chelang'a, said wananchi [citizens] in Kabarnet town spotted the suspicious group, some of whom were scantily dressed, and carrying paraphernalia similar to the ones recovered from the 61 suspects who were arrested in Laikipia.

The PC, who was speaking to KNA from his office today, said the five were suspected to have lost their way in their escape bid from police who raided a house in Karandi area of Ngarua Division, Laikipia District, on

Jamhuri Day. They are believed to be members of a clandestine political movement that was undertaking an oathing ceremony to cause chaos in the country.

Yesterday the PC exposed an alleged plot by members of the movement calling themselves Mungiki Patriotic National Movement of Kenya and displayed paraphernalia said to have recovered from the oath takers by police.

Uganda

Government Approves General Elections in 1995

EA1512162194 Nairobi KNA in English 1200 GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] 15 Dec, Kampala (KNA/PANA)—The Uganda Government has approved proposals for the holding of general elections leading to the installation of an elected government in December 1995.

The proposals contained in a document entitled "Indicative timetable of tasks to be accomplished during 1995" made available to PANA [Pan-African News Agency] in Kampala on Thursday [15 December], said the Constituent Assembly (CA) will conclude work on the draft constitution in May while promulgation of the new constitution will take place in June.

Computerization, updating of the voters' registers, and the issuing of new voters' cards will start in January and end in July, the document said.

The period will also cover appointment of an independent electoral commission, the demarcation of the constituencies, preparation of electoral materials, and the installation of communication system for the polls.

The mobilization of financial resources for national elections will also take place during this period.

According to the proposal, appointment of election officials such as returning officers and their assistants will be completed by the end of August, while nomination of candidates and the commencement of civic education programmes will come up in September.

It added that general campaigns would commence in October, followed by the training of election officials and the completion of civic education in November.

Sisulu Formally Announces Retirement

MB1512155594 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1500 GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The deputy president of the ruling African National Congress of South Africa, 82-year-old Mr. Walter Sisulu, has announced his retirement. Making the announcement in Johannesburg, Mr. Sisulu said he would continue to advise President Nelson Mandela and other ANC officials, but he was leaving his formal post to younger men.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki is expected to take over from Mr. Sisulu at an ANC national convention that begins on Saturday [17 December]. President Mandela, Mr. Sisulu, and the late Mr. Oliver Tambo formed the ANC Youth League in 1944.

Makwetu Said Unaware of Campaign To Oust Him

MB1512180294 Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 14 Dec 94 p 4

[Report by Gert van der Westhuizen]

[FBIS Translated Text] PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] President Clarence Makwetu said he is unaware of a campaign to replace him as the organization's leader at this week's PAC congress.

He was approached for comment after rumors that the PAC's leadership structure could change completely at its fourth national congress.

"No one has told me that I have to vacate the leadership. If candidates against me are proposed and an election is held, we will have to see what the delegates decide," Mr. Makwetu told BEELD. "It is not a problem. It is all part of democracy. In any case, PAC leaders are elected for a specific period."

According to Mr. Makwetu, the PAC will review its performance in 1994. It will review the April elections and what the PAC has achieved since then. The PAC will also decide what to do in the future. The organization's strategy for next year's municipal elections will be examined.

Mr. Makwetu said aspects of the PAC's policy could change.

"The PAC remains a liberation movement. We will have to decide if it is still wise to continue as a liberation movement in the changing South Africa or if we should become a political party."

The congress is to be held tomorrow through Saturday at the Mmabatho Civic Center.

PAC Leadership Defection to DP Hinted At

MB1512205794 Johannesburg SABC CCV Television Network in English 1900 GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] If PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] President Clarence Makwetu is deposed at the

party's national conference, more than 50 percent of its national top structure could defect to the Democratic Party [DP]. This is the opinion of a PAC top notch in the Western Cape.

The official, who wished to remain anonymous, said he, along with at least 50 percent of the national top structure, would vote against the replacement of Makwetu at tomorrow's Mmabato conference. He said if Makwetu were to be replaced, the Makwetu camp would approach the DP. He said the DP's sober image was the most appealing to them.

'Little Future' Left for Afrikaner Volksfront

MB1012140194 Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English 9-14 Dec 94 p 3

[Article by Jan Taljaard]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The once-influential Afrikaner Volksfront [National Front] (AVF)—relaunched last weekend after its demise in the wake of the April election—has been dismissed as "the Conservative Party in disguise".

At a press conference held to launch the "restructured" AVF, AVF president and Conservative Party [CP] leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg reinforced the view that the AVF has little future as an independent and viable power bloc.

The AVF's newly elected executive committee is dominated by prominent CP members. The leadership also omitted to divulge the names of any of its "more than 30 member organisations". Freedom Front spokesman Chris Landman reacted immediately by calling the organisation "the CP in disguise".

This year the CP has already had to contend with criticism from within its own ranks on the issue. Delegates to CP congresses have accused the party of keeping an unnecessary and expensive duplication of the party alive.

Those in favour of the continued existence of the AVF defended it by saying a representative umbrella body of Afrikaner parties was necessary. It was with this umbrella organisation in mind that the AVF was last Saturday "restructured" and a new executive elected.

Dr Willie Snyman, also deputy leader of the CP, was elected deputy president of the AVF. Among the other seven members of the executive were Daan Nolte, former CP MP; Koos Kemp, CP spokesman and former CP town council member; and Fanie du Venage, CP youth leader.

It was a far cry from the heady pre-election days when the AVF was widely regarded as the biggest threat to the transitional process.

When General Constand Viljoen and colleagues such as General Menie Groenewald left the AVF to establish the

Freedom Front, the organisation was left rudderless, allowing the CP to establish total sway over the organisation.

The CP takeover started in January this year when control of the organisation was wrested from the generals at a heated mass meeting attended by thousands of emotional rightwingers. On that day the CP managed to get all its MPs elected to the executive, bringing the AVF under its virtual control.

Under the leadership of Viljoen and other former generals, the AVF had made major strides towards rightwing unity, combining almost all the paramilitary and political forces of the disgruntled right. Several factors eventually led to Viljoen stepping down from his executive position—the most important being the ill-fated rightwing excursion into Bophuthatswana under AVF command.

The maverick role of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] inside the organisation and serious divisions between AVF supporters on the issue of participation in the elections eventually led to its demise.

In a first attempt to regroup after the elections, the AVF/CP established the so-called Volks Republiek Werkkomitee (VWK) to "gather all relevant information and to put the ideal of Afrikaner self-determination into practice".

Hartzenberg said on Saturday that the VWK was active and that its first reports would be made public early next year. But it is widely seen as a knee jerk CP reaction to the establishment of the government-sanctioned Volkstaat [Afrikaner Homeland] Council, which Viljoen supports.

The Weekly Mail & Guardian has obtained the list of the AVF's affiliates, which does contain some notable organisations outside the CP sphere of influence. They include Carel Boshoff's Volkswag and Afstig [National Guard and Secede], all-white trade unions in the metal industries, Transnet [public transportation company] and the postal service, and the Transvaal and Free State agricultural unions. Boere Krisis Aksie, long regarded as loyal to Viljoen, also forms part of the AVF's interest group on security matters.

The aim of the restructured AVF will be to regain the freedom of the Boer nation, Hartzenberg said.

In one aspects it appears to be in step with the rest of South Africa: according to a statement handed out at the meeting, one in every three AVF regional representatives will in future have to be a woman.

Afrikaner Front, CP Deny Financial Crises

MB1312172194 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1400 GMT 13 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Afrikaner Volksfront [National Front] has reacted to reports that it is in

financial difficulties, saying that it has enough money to continue its activities. However, the general secretary of the Volksfront, Dr. H. Mocke, conceded that the organization's income had dropped and said that it would have to rationalize its efforts. He said that despite trying circumstances the Boer nation would continue its fight for freedom.

Meanwhile, the leader of the Conservative Party [CP] in the [Orange] Free State, Mr. Charl Hertzog, has denied that the party is having a financial crisis. However, he said that no political party ever had as much money as it would like, especially when its aims were as broad as those of the CP.

Education Minister Bhengu Profiled

MB1312141594 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 12 Dec 94 p 17

[Report by Claire Keeion]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] For Christmas Education Minister Sibusiso Mandlenkosi Emmanuel Bhengu would like a final draft of the White Paper on Education.

Bhengu, a teacher by profession, is dedicated to improving education in South Africa. This shows in his work and even his free time.

In an exclusive interview with SOWETAN at his official Pretoria residence last week, he said: "The month of December will involve intensive work. What would give me a good Christmas is if I could disappear on 20 December with a final draft of the White Paper."

He hopes to take a few days off over Christmas to spend in Durban, his new home base. Born and raised in KwaZulu/Natal, Bhengu intends selling his house in East London and relocating his family to Durban. This move is to fit in with the ANC's policy that elected officials should live in the provinces which nominated them.

Voting on April 27 was one of the highlights of Bhengu's life and he said: "It was shortly before I turned 60 but on that day I felt as if I was a small boy. I was the first one to vote at Fort Hare University where I was vice-chancellor. I could not believe it was as easy as that to restore the dignity we lost and missed all these years."

The professor said the government's choice of him for education minister came as a complete surprise. "It was graduation day at Fort Hare and my guests were leaving in their cars when the news flashed on. I knew nothing when they told me."

But it is a responsibility he has embraced with his whole heart and many talents. "I saw a challenge and behind it I saw problems. I went for it though with the belief I am part of a support group which will back me up."

Looking trim and healthy after twice suffering strokes earlier this year, Bhengu is determined to make a difference.

"We should be able to mobilise the whole country and the international community around education. In the same way we brought down apartheid we will build up education."

The key to success is for the entire society to work to turn around the education system. He stressed the education of black and white South Africans needs to be transformed.

"It is linked to everything in such a way that if we did well we would not only reduce the budget in education but also the budget for health, the police and many areas."

And in the minister's view, education should be a partnership of the department, business, NGOs [nongovernmental organization], donors and other interest groups.

"When I am tired and troubled by so many things going wrong, I think of the overwhelming support I'm getting," said Bhengu. His Christian beliefs are another pillar of support in the mountainous task facing him. Bhengu spent his childhood in a family of seven on mission stations, since his father was a Lutheran pastor. They lived in many places and attended many schools, yet he was protected from the harsher side of life by the missionary ethic.

"In the way I grew up with missionaries I never got to know South Africa's politics and discrimination. At missionary houses I was fully accepted and I played with missionary children. It did not strike me there was a difference and the hostility in the country passed me by, except in public places like post offices. I was spared the anger of being treated differently as a child," Bhengu said.

However he was exposed to pressure of another kind which he defied, to become a pastor in the church. Bhengu wanted to become a teacher and had the support of his father. "The teaching profession is similar to being a priest," he explained.

Relying on the church for funding, Bhengu completed his course with a first class as one of the youngest students at 14. From this early start his academic career went from strength to strength. Bhengu mastered one degree after another, finally winning a scholarship to study for a doctorate abroad at the University of Geneva. He was awarded his Ph.D in political science and his thesis on African Cultural Identity and International Relations was later published.

Bhengu said while he was abroad he was influenced by people in exile. Among them ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, to join the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

He returned to South Africa and helped to revive the IFP as a way of mobilising people in the country to resist apartheid. "It was a way of hiding politics through a cultural movement," he explained.

But soon he clashed with Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi over membership. Bhengu believed membership should be broader than Zulu speakers and enrolled members from Indian and Coloured areas.

The two also disagree about IFP leadership, with Bhengu advocating rotating leadership for the party instead of Buthelezi staying in the post permanently.

The final fallout took place when Bhengu proposed non-violent mass action, which he said was strongly opposed by Buthelezi.

"I left the country for self-imposed exile in 1979 in danger from both Inkatha and the Government," Bhengu said.

For 14 years he worked overseas for a development wing of the Lutheran World Federation, travelling 70 percent of the time doing research and gathering material. One of his favourite countries is the Philippines—whose struggle he followed so closely he nearly got killed while visiting an activist there in the '80s. He is also fascinated by Latin American and Asian countries.

"I thought at 62 I would retire and start writing books on this but now I'm in government," Bhengu said.

In 1990 he met with Mr Nelson Mandela in Geneva and was convinced to return to South Africa. "I was converted to the idea of going home and working in education reconstruction towards freedom day."

He returned to South Africa and was appointed vice-chancellor at Fort Hare University, where Tambo was chancellor. "Fort Hare was the first university with a leader of the liberation movement as chancellor, and from that day the students got the message the struggle had shifted from the bush to classrooms and lecture halls."

Bhengu believed the students and workers were partners with the administration and he said there was no student strike on campus during his time there.

But other upheavals, such as Ciskei police invading the campus, disrupted Fort Hare. Bhengu remembers ducking bullets, while waving a student's white shirt, to stop soldiers shooting at them. He said it was symbolic to return to Fort Hare and be reunited with one professor who assisted him as a student.

When he was approached by Natal ANC to stand for their election list he consulted the university and they reluctantly agreed to terminate his contract.

But Bhengu has not retired from the academic sphere altogether and is in the USA this month addressing a conference of university students.

He would still like to write "scientifically-researched books on political and economic issues" focused on South Africa but with a global background.

When he was working for the church he would buy himself two books every vacation, one on economics and one on theology. For example, he was fascinated by a book on "Fidel and Religion: Castro Talks on Revolution and Religion". "In Latin America that book was more popular than bread, people were queuing up to get it," he said.

Issues at ANC Conference Previewed

MB1512155394 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1511
GMT 15 Dec 94

[Report by Patrick Bulger and Connie Molusi]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Johannesburg Dec 15 SAPA—The African National Congress, flushed by its April elections success but sobered by its first seven months in power, begins its 49th triennial conference in Bloemfontein on Saturday [17 December].

The conference will determine how the ANC, and by implication the national and provincial governments, intends meeting promises made in the elections campaign and the preceding years.

"The question of delivery of the Reconstruction and Development Programme [RDP] will come up very sharply," said Orange Free State [OFS] ANC Chairman Mr Pat Matosa.

Also high on the agenda will be the election by 3,000 delegates of ANC office-bearers. The outcome will serve as a guide to the line of succession to President Nelson Mandela, who is certain to be re-elected ANC president.

The national executive committee will be revamped by the replacement of some of its members with people who are currently little-known.

Nominations by ANC regions for the party's top six posts suggest the following leadership will emerge: Mr Mandela as president, Mr Thabo Mbeki as deputy president, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa as secretary-general, Ms Cheryl Carolus as his deputy, Mr Jacob Zuma as national chairman and Sen Henry Makgothi as treasurer-general.

However, the chairman's job could go to Minister of Public Works Mr Jeff Radebe, OFS Premier Mr Patrick Lekota, or Minister of Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting Dr Pallo Jordan, who hold outside chances.

After Mr Mandela's intervention to prevent damaging leadership contests, the elections are likely to be the easier part of the conference.

More problematic will be managing criticism of the ANC's record in government, including its failure thus far to capitalise on its election victory by taking bold steps to implement the RDP.

ANC leaders will be criticised for concentrating on reconciliation and assuaging white fears, but the conference is unlikely to abandon or even water-down this focus.

"It would be impossible to have socio-economic transformation without reconciliation," said PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] (Gauteng) Premier Mr Tokyo Sexwale.

Although rank-and-file perceptions that the ANC has adopted an over-weening posture towards whites will spare the party from some criticism of its performance, individual elected leaders, among them cabinet ministers, can be expected to be criticised for lacklustre performances. This could affect their careers when the cabinet and executive councils are reshuffled. Similarly, some leading ANC members in government will be criticised for not paying sufficient attention to party matters.

The conference, however, will not be solely about leaders explaining themselves. After a decade of espousing ungovernability and non-payment for rent and services, sections of the leadership will tell delegates representing the rank-and-file that the ANC's priorities have changed, from resistance to reconstruction.

The leadership will have to sell the idea that "the wheels of government take long to turn", in the words of Mr Sexwale. "You cannot build houses as quickly as my heart desires," he said.

Among the major issues likely to be raised are:

- economic policy and privatisation, which the government is committed to in principle but which is still anathema to a trade union leadership steeped in socialist ideology;
- calls for more-rapid transformation of the civil service and the re-orientation of the budget towards RDP priorities, including suggested new approaches to constitutional guarantees for civil servants that some claim are hampering RDP implementation;
- calls for Africanisation and affirmative action at all levels of society; and,
- calls for the ANC and affiliated organisations like the South African Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions to co-operate in official structures at all levels to implement the party's long-term goals.

The conference opens on Saturday with an address by Mr Mandela. On Sunday, Constitutional Assembly Chairman Mr Ramaphosa will deliver his report, followed by the presentation of Deputy President Mbeki's "strategy and tactics" document.

On Monday and Tuesday, delegates will split into commissions to formulate policies in the following areas: political, economic and civil service transformation;

building the ANC, the ANC constitution and its alliances; the land and agrarian question; local government; constitution-making; women and youth; and social stability and violence.

The results of elections, which are to begin on Monday, will be announced on Wednesday when the conference closes.

COSATU Discusses Focus for 1995

MB1312142094 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1156 GMT 13 Dec 94

[Statement issued by COSATU on the SAPA PR Wire Service]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] For millions of workers the overwhelming election victory of the ANC meant more than simply the victory of the organisation they had supported. The significance of the elections even went beyond the defeat of apartheid, and the introduction of democracy to our country.

The adoption of the Reconstruction and Development Programme [RDP] by the government of national unity represented a quantum leap forward for the South African working people. The RDP is the product of widespread consultation, and in particular had its genesis in the trade union movement. The RDP is the first programme which, in a systematic and integrated way, attempts to deal with the problems which plague working people—poverty, unemployment, disease, illiteracy, inequality, homelessness, landlessness.

The period since the elections has clearly shown that, while all sectors of society pay lip service to it, the RDP has many enemies. Conservative forces in the inherited bureaucracy, security forces, in business, internationally, and in the government of national unity, are determined to ensure that the RDP doesn't disturb old patterns of power and privilege.

While some of the resistance may be the relatively unconscious reflex of an elite unable to come to terms with democratic transformation, the RDP also faces a deliberate campaign of sabotage by elements in the old order. The best known example is that of Desmond Krogh from the DBSA [Development Bank of Southern Africa], whose double agenda included promoting fragmentation by bolstering regions in opposition to central government, at the same time as deliberately planning the failure of RDP programmes.

The ANC-led government has correctly placed emphasis on the need to defend and consolidate our new democracy, build national unity, create peace, and develop conditions of stability. This process will have to continue into 1995. At the same time, these objectives will only be realised if the entire society is engaged in a massive national effort to implement the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

Our people will only energetically defend the new democracy if that democracy begins to bring about tangible changes in their everyday lives. They will only be able to effectively combat crime and violence if the social conditions which breed these evils begin to be systematically tackled. We will only be able to build lasting unity if the massive inequalities and social discrimination inherited from apartheid are targeted as enemy no. 1 of our society.

Therefore the worst blunder we could make is to reduce the RDP to an empty slogan, which ultimately becomes a swear word on our peoples' lips. Impressive groundwork has been laid for the new democracy. Failure to decisively implement the RDP could threaten the very foundations of that democracy. But it is the whole of society which needs to drive this process, rather than passively waiting for delivery from government.

COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] will be mobilising for the setting up of RDP structures such as RDP councils, both in the workplace and communities. South Africa's tradition of a strong and vibrant civil society needs to be reasserted. We must not replace apartheid statism, and top-down rule, with a new form of statism.

At the same time, the democratic state must be truly new state, not the old state with new figureheads. One of the major pillars of the RDP involves transforming the old bureaucracy from one designed to implement apartheid, to public service oriented towards delivering peoples' basic needs. The trade union movement sees itself as playing a critical role in this transformation process.

COSATU will engage in the process of budgeting, to vigorously pursue the objective of realigning resources away from unnecessary bureaucracy, into service delivery. The realigning of the entire budget to RDP spending needs to move away from the "RDP fund approach", where RDP spending is relegated to a side budget. We will be monitoring the extent to which government implements its approach of zero-based budgeting advanced in the RDP white paper, which requires will line departments [as received] to justify their budgets from scratch in line with RDP objectives.

COSATU will argue for a more coherent and scientific approach to the reorganisation of public sector personnel. We reject the current approach which seems to suggest that large cut-backs of personnel in and of itself is a desirable objective, and that a mathematical percentage-based formula can be used to achieve this. While COSATU will support a radical cut-back in wasteful expenditure, including on personnel, we are convinced that successful implementation of the RDP requires an expansion in personnel in certain areas, particularly in the areas of service delivery. This conclusion is unavoidable if we move from the premise that apartheid excluded over 75 percent of the population from the provision of basic services and infrastructure.

We will also pursue the objective restructuring the tax system to a greater extent than the Katz Commission has been able to do, to move to a progressive and fair taxation system, which lifts the unfair burden off the shoulders of working people, and induces business to invest in productive activity. COSATU will be pursuing this approach in the monetary and fiscal chamber of Nedlac [National Economic, Development, and Labor Council].

For the public service to become an effective agent of the RDP, industrial relations and work organisation will have to be radically transformed, in line with the following priorities:

- an integrated approach to training, grading, career pathing, skills and wages;
- drastically reducing the over 300 job categories and grades and flattening hierarchies;
- implementation of a coherent affirmative action programme; closing the wage gap;
- creating a culture of accountability and transparency.

This approach of realigning public institutions to RDP priorities needs to be extended to the broader public sector, including parastatals, and semi-autonomous state institutions. While there may be an argument for these institutions operating at arms length from government, this doesn't exempt them from public accountability. The DBSA's, Armscor's [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] and others have already shown their preparedness to subvert public funds to prop up sectional interests. COSATU will campaign, as we did with the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation], for the transformation and democratisation of all bodies which have been created through public funding.

In particular, we want to destroy the myth that the Reserve Bank is somehow above society, and operates as an 'independent' institution. As things stand, the composition of the Reserve Bank reflects the domination of elements of the old Thatcherite bureaucracy, and the large conglomerates, and is unaccountable to society. Monetary policy is not an objective science, but involves political choices, which have an effect on investment, unemployment, inflation etc. COSATU is totally against a reserve bank which is able to pursue policies which directly undermine and contradict the objectives of the RDP.

Economy

In the second half of this year South Africa has been swamped by economic prescriptions which, if implemented would effectively destroy any prospect of the RDP succeeding. We have received unsolicited advice to embark on wholesale privatisation, drop all tariff barriers, adopt a wage freeze, and cut back social spending.

We have no problem debating any economic policy option put before the country with the genuine aim of

finding solutions to our economic problems. But COSATU believes these are ideologically-driven proposals which are not dictated in the first instance by the needs of the people of South Africa. Most often, they are tied to conditions set by international finance and trade institutions dominated by the advanced industrial countries. COSATU opposes the growing phenomenon of these unelected and unaccountable institutions undermining the sovereignty of democratic states, by imposing policies which directly contradict the programmes of those societies.

We will call on progressive governments internationally, and like-minded movements of civil society to jointly campaign for the development of a new democratic platform for world trade and financial relations, in which the sovereignty of nations is respected, and the social priorities of peoples, rather than the financial and trade interests of the G7 nations, take precedence. We will discuss this approach with the international trade union movement, and lobby governments, including ours, to advance this perspective at the UN Social Summit in Denmark in March 1995.

COSATU will totally oppose the sale of any state assets which would impact negatively on the RDP—privatising parastatals, and subjecting them to the laws of profit, would have the effect of denying the poorest South Africans, the majority of our people access to health, electricity, transport, communication and other services. Arguments to the contrary fly in the face of all international experience. Our opposition will not be softened by the so-called 'Malaysian route', whereby individuals from the black population are enriched by the sale of state assets, while their communities end up suffering.

Similarly, COSATU will oppose the current trend of dogmatic adherence to rapid unplanned trade liberalisation, and the lifting of protective tariffs. If unchecked, this could pose a serious threat to the revival of our economy, wipe out whole industries, and lead to massive destruction of jobs. The push by some elements in government to implement tariffs which are even lower than the rates set out in GATT, without consultation, will be resisted by COSATU. If this ideologically driven approach continues to be pursued it will fundamentally undermine the policies set out in the RDP for developing our industries. Unions employers and government need to develop a coherent approach to trade and economic policies which will protect our existing industrial base, and expand it.

COSATU will focus in 1995 on challenging the vestiges of apartheid inequality which are still entrenched at the economic level. This will necessitate inter alia a focus on rural development, affirmative action, anti-trust policies, human resource development, and democratisation of economic decision-making.

A particular challenge facing the trade union movement is to address the apartheid wage gap. This year we have begun to make progress in addressing this issue in the

public sector. 1995 will see the question of the wage gap being placed squarely on the agenda of the private sector. Our wages and salaries structure, from the highest paid director, to the lowest paid worker, will be placed under close scrutiny.

1995 holds the possibility for a qualitative economic breakthrough, beyond the normal cyclical fluctuation of capitalist economies. If the RDP begins to be effectively implemented, it will have economic spin-offs at a number of levels: infrastructural projects and public works programmes will result in job creation; new demand will boost industry; land reform and other programmes will stimulate agriculture and SME [expansion unknown] development etc. But perhaps the most important factor could be the effect of beginning to unleash our human resource potential, if a major effort is put into developing our people, and involving them in the running of the economy. This is the 'high road' scenario envisaged by the RDP.

We must ensure that the upswing in economic activity benefits the people of this country, and is not confined to an orgy of speculation and profiteering without meaningful productive investment, as we have seen in recent months. South African business appears to be investing in every country in the world except South Africa. We will be calling on government to address this 'investment strike' as a matter of urgency.

When international and local investment picks up, tangible results must be seen in terms of jobs created, people trained, and technological development. The possibilities of economic boom must not be squandered.

Workers will use their financial muscle, particularly in the pension and provident funds, to try to ensure that investment is made in productive, job-creating activity, as well as areas of social need, as opposed to paper-chasing activity which is of no benefit to the country.

'Labour Reform'

The strikes in 1994, while hugely exaggerated by the media, did show that workers expect to see political democracy accompanied by transformation in the economy and the workplace. Employers for their part have, by and large, continued to take the view that it is 'business as usual'. If this gulf of expectations continues to persist, the stage is being set for a massive confrontation on the shopfloor.

COSATU will intensify its campaign for a three-tier programme of economic and industrial democratisation: national economic decision making; centralised bargaining at industry level and workplace democracy at company level. These three levels of decision making are mutually reinforcing, and need to be implemented in an integrated way, as no level can succeed on its own. For example a national strategy on beneficiation needs to be informed by an industry strategy at the level of, say, the

mining industry, which in turn requires new approaches to restructuring and investment at company level.

To be effective, these forums need to have meaningful decision-making powers, and not be forums for 'consultation'. This required a radical rethink by employers on traditional approaches to the 'managerial prerogative'. Further, they will have to be comprehensively implemented, not in a piecemeal ad hoc way, since the competitive character of business undermines a voluntarist approach.

Labour market institutions and labour legislation will undergo fundamental reform in 1995. COSATU will campaign to ensure that this legislation is harmonised to extend to all workers and inter alia provides for: a system of centralised bargaining, basic employment conditions and wage determination, which protects all workers; a maximum working week of 40 hours; the full right to strike and picket, with protection against dismissal, and prevention of scabbing; provisions compelling employers to negotiate all aspects of retrenchment, and a social plan act to assist victims of retrenchments or closures; disclosure of company information and democratisation of decision-making.

In addition to the setting up of the labour market chamber of the Nedlac, COSATU will be campaigning for the restructuring of a range of labour market institutions. The objective in all cases will be to ensure that they are representative, transparent and accountable; that they have streamlined and quick procedures; are accessible to workers; and form part of an active labour market policy. We expect to see among others the Wage Board, the UIF [Unemployment Insurance Fund] board, and National Training Board transformed in line with these principles. The transformation of the Industrial Court should observe these criteria, as well as offering a public aid service.

At the level of the new constitution, COSATU will be campaigning for fundamental worker rights, as contained in our platform on workers rights, to be entrenched in the constitution. We will be campaigning for the removal of the lock-out clause, giving employers the right to lock-out, from the current constitution. This clause is out of line with international norms. We will also be campaigning for a unitary state in which the national government exercises authority over all strategic areas, and will be opposing any move in the direction of federalism and fragmentation. COSATU will embark on a programme to ensure maximum involvement of workers in the debates around the constitution, and its final adoption, through workers forums, education programmes, a conference of mass organisations, and a campaign for a referendum or other democratic mechanism to adopt the final constitution.

Organisational Challenges

COSATU is poised to make major organisational advances in 1995, as we adapt to the new conditions

facing the trade union movement. This will require new and innovative approaches, combined with tried and tested methods of trade union organisation:

1995 will see COSATU move away from its image as an exclusively blue-collar, 'African' trade union federation, as its membership begins to reflect the full spectrum of South Africa's workers. Large numbers of white collar, professional, and other strata of the workforce are beginning to come into COSATU, and the federation is beginning to receive applications from a number of unions representing these workers. COSATU will embark on a recruitment campaign in strategic sectors which have hitherto fallen outside the mainstream of the trade union movement. COSATU will have to develop a strategy to accommodate the wide variety of interests which will be reflected in the federation.

At the same time, COSATU will intensify its drive to organise the unorganised, low-paid workers, particularly in the agricultural, construction, public and service sectors. 1995 will see the launch of COSATU's farm workers union, and a giant public sector union, after these launches were delayed in 1994.

While expanding into new areas, our priority for 1995 will be to consolidate and revive democratic shopfloor structures and locals, the engine of the federation. Campaigns, negotiations, and servicing of union members must be driven from the shop floor, not union offices and boardrooms.

As a federation, COSATU will endeavour to assist our affiliates, particularly those which in the past few months have suffered from the lack of dynamic contact and interaction between the leadership and the rank and file. This will help to combat opportunistic elements who have been attempting to usurp power from democratically elected constitutional structures for their own political ends.

This 'back to basics' thrust will not involve a retreat from our broader role as a trade union movement. We will continue to strive to advance the interests of working and poor people as a whole, but from a stronger, more mobilised organisational base.

COSATU is embarking on a major research and capacity building programme whose primary aim is to ensure empowerment of women on the shop floor, the development of women leadership, and to put gender issues at the centre of the federation's programme.

COSATU's engagements in Nedlac and other negotiations forums will not be conducted above the heads of our members. Strategies will be developed to ensure that these negotiations are at all times mass-driven, and have a campaign element. Rather than constantly respond to economic and labour agendas imposed by forces outside our country, such as wage restraint, privatisation etc COSATU will forge a negotiations agenda based on the needs of working people. As the largest federation we

have an obligation to ensure that, in conjunction with other trade union federations, we steer the labour agenda in Nedlac and other forums. We will also work with, and seek to strengthen other organisations of civil society participating in the development chamber of Nedlac.

As a federation, COSATU will be looking at new ways to co-ordinate and pool the collective bargaining, education, and other activities of our affiliates.

COSATU will negotiate social benefits for workers provided by democratic states internationally. State programmes will be negotiated to assist trade unions in areas such as worker education, training, and health and safety.

COSATU will be elaborating its organisational approach to migration of southern African workers. The current wave of hysteria and xenophobia is not in the interest of workers, local or migrant. COSATU will propose methods to expand the organisation of migrants, to end the illegal exploitation of migrants by employers, and a broader social programme to deal with the effects of the influx of migrants and refugees from other countries. We will be spearheading discussions with trade unions and governments in the region on constructive approaches to deal with this matter.

COSATU will launch a campaign for the introduction of democratic local government in 1995, and resist attempts by right wing forces to hold the process hostage. We will support a decisive ANC victory in these elections, based on the mandate contained in the RDP. COSATU will release local leadership on a part-time basis for the elections, in a way designed to promote worker leadership in local government, at the same time as minimising damage to the trade union movement.

COSATU is devising programmes to strengthen the capacity of worker leadership in the federation, at national regional and local levels. The infusion of 'new', but experienced worker leadership at all levels of the federation, as a result of the political process, is giving COSATU a dynamic new thrust. Those in positions of responsibility will be equipped with the necessary tools to drive the process forward to ensure continuity.

Conclusion

1995 will be a watershed year for workers. It is a year of numerous opportunities, a year in which workers will expect to see tangible results after the years of struggle against oppression and exploitation. It is a year in which the prospects for economic development, social reconstruction, job creation, and industrial democracy dare not be squandered, otherwise we may not be presented with another opportunity. This is the vision COSATU has for 1995—a year of reconstruction and development. We call on all South Africans, particularly those in the business community, to take up this challenge.

ANC Said Isolating Zulu King From Subjects
MB1312182794 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1734
GMT 13 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Durban Dec 13 SAPA—By meddling in the affairs of the Zulu royal house, the African National Congress has succeeded in isolating King Goodwill Zwelithini from his subjects, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) said on Tuesday [13 December]. It said in a statement it was this isolation the amakhosi (Zulu chiefs) were seeking to address in an audience with the king, and it was "mischievous" to describe their efforts to see him on Tuesday as a "march on one of the royal residences".

Insinuations by Mrs Mary de Haas (a political analyst) and the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) that the safety of the king was under threat from traditional Zulu Prime Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Kwa-Zulu/Natal Premier Frank Mdlalose and the amakhosi were "outrageous and preposterous", the IFP said.

"Mrs de Haas, who seeks to hide her ANC-inspired political activism behind the facade of being a 'violence monitor' has a long history of meddling in Zulu royal affairs and of doing everything in her power to smear the IFP."

The IFP said an SANDF statement that the army was aware of threats against the king and of a proposed march on one of his palaces was "equally outrageous". However, this was "not surprising coming from an organ of state that has simply switched from being a tool of the previous regime to that of serving party-political interests of the ANC".

Hundreds of chiefs gathered at Ulundi on Tuesday with Mr Buthelezi and Dr Mdlalose to discuss matters affecting the Zulu nation. Before the meeting rumours abounded of a protest march by chiefs on the king's Enyokeni Palace near Nongoma. Security forces said they were aware of threats against the palace and had ensured adequate protection.[passage omitted]

Replying to media inquiries, Mr Mandela's office said in a statement on Tuesday the president had consulted Mr Buthelezi about the rumoured march. "The president was particularly concerned that such a march would further heighten tension in an already volatile atmosphere. He received an undertaking from Chief Buthelezi that he would seek to stop the march."

On comments by people planning to take part in the march that they would seek a meeting with Mr Mandela, his office said he was prepared, within his busy schedule, to receive any delegation from any constituency wishing to raise its concerns. "This affords him not only contact with South African citizens, but also an opportunity to explain the positions of the government of national unity. The president is concerned about developments in the province of KwaZulu/Natal and he would therefore

respond positively to any formal request for a meeting with the said amakhosi," the statement said.

Defense Force Concerned About Missing Weapons

MB1212174894 Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans
11 Dec 94 p 6

[Report by De Wet Potgieter]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] It is not only the thugs and murderers with AK-47 rifles who fan the bloody violence in the country, but people using sophisticated Defense Force weapons distributed to APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] and MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe—Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] members before the election.

Most of those weapons are still at large and have constituted part of the National Defense Force's secret Operation Rollerball, whose aim is to collect the tonnes of MK's illegal weapons inside and outside the country.

Last week RAPPORT revealed details surrounding the secret collection process in 120 hidden caches throughout the country—even from under the noses of the AWB [Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging; Afrikaner Resistance Movement] in Ventersdorp and Inkatha in KwaZulu/Natal—and the millions of rands worth of weaponry outside the country's borders.

There is serious concern in security ranks over the large number of arms caches within the country being sought by the search teams that already have been stripped bare.

Most of the weapons are now in the hands of militant members of self-defense units, and there are also fears that MK deserters from Wallmannstal, who have regrouped in KwaZulu/Natal, have acquired these weapons.

Defense Force weapons, ranging from service pistols to R-5 assault rifles and Uzi submachine guns, were handed to APLA members before the election "for the protection of their leaders."

Most of those weapons have not been returned, and this week the Defense Force conceded to RAPPORT that they had no clue how many of those weapons still were in illegal hands.

"As part of the transformation process, the National Defense Force is engaged in a logistic survey of all weapons and ammunition that previously belonged to the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] defense forces," Defense Force Lieutenant Colonel Brian du Toit said on 9 December.

"However, this effort was being hampered by poor accounting and records by the former TBVC defense forces, hence immense problems were being experienced in this regard."

RAPPORT is in possession of documents in which General T.T. Matanzima, former commander of the Transkei defense force and now a SANDF [South African National Defense Force] general, in September this year supplied the SANDF logistics deputy chief of staff, Major General P.O. du Preez, with a list of all the missing weapons distributed to the APLA and MK.

The list bears the number of each missing weapon and to whom it was given. It includes, among others, R-1, R-4, R-5 and G-3 assault rifles, and also an Uzi submachine gun, and many pistols and revolvers.

According to RAPPORT's information, this is only one list of weapons distributed from Defense Force arsenals, and the possibility exists that other weapons were handed out to APLA and MK members without any proper records being made.

The volatile situation involving radical self-defense unit members in the strife-torn townships and squatter camps strongly came to the fore on 4 December during the funeral of the murdered bodyguard of PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging—now "Gauteng"] Premier Tokyo Sexwale, Vusi Vilakazi, in Thembisa on the East Rand.

While a prominent member of the PWV legislature, clad in his MK combat uniform, fired a volley of shots with an AK-47 rifle during the funeral, self-defense unit members openly displayed their AK's and randomly fired in the air.

A special task force has been appointed by the Police Services to investigate incidents in which bodyguards of senior ANC officials have been involved after the controversy surrounding Sexwale's bodyguards lately.

Kempton Park's Sheriff Tsokolo Mogane's house came under a hand grenade and AK-47 attack after a bodyguard, Vilakazi, was killed. [passage omitted]

Maj.-Gen. Otto Named Chief of Army

MB1512155194 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1434
GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pretoria Dec 15 SAPA—Maj-Gen Reg Otto, general officer commanding Eastern Transvaal Command, is to become the chief of the South African Army in the new year, South African National Defence Force Chief Gen Georg Meiring announced on Thursday [15 December].

He will be promoted to lt-gen and succeeds Lt-Gen Hattingh Pretorius who will retire on medical grounds at the end of the year. A parade for the handing over of command will be held on January 13.

Winnie Mandela Tells Court Not Responsible

MB1512194294 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1859
GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pretoria Dec 15 SAPA—Deputy Minister of Culture, Science and Technology

Winnie Mandela said on Thursday [15 December] payment for a charter flight to Angola by two businessmen introduced to her by the ANC Youth League [ANCYL] was not her responsibility.

Mrs Mandela was on Tuesday ordered by the Rand Supreme Court to furnish further information on the charter of a Lear jet for which she allegedly did not pay R53,674 [rands].

A statement issued by her office on Thursday said she had been told by former ANCYL leader Peter Mokaba that the businessmen wanted to establish trade links with Angola.

"The businessmen were known to members of the Youth League, and had requested an interview with Mrs Mandela through her office. Mrs Mandela agreed to assist the businessmen in setting up contacts and making their transport arrangements," the statement said.

The statement said the charter company, Foster Webb Air Charter, had accepted a postdated cheque from one of the businessmen which later bounced. Mrs Mandela had not accompanied the businessmen on the flight. The charter company is now trying to claim payment from Mrs Mandela.

"Mrs Mandela acted in good faith in this matter, in response to a request for assistance directed to her. This office regards it as sheer opportunism on the part of the charter company to attempt to claim payment from Mrs Mandela in this matter.

"The dispute rests solely between the charter company and the businessmen who used the plane, and from whom the charter company accepted the cheque in payment for the flight," said the statement from Mrs Mandela's office.

Japan Gets Direct Access to Securities Market

MB1512111494 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in
English 14 Dec 94 p 19

[Report by Derek Tommey]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Japanese investors could soon play an important role in determining the fortunes of the JSE [Johannesburg Stock Exchange].

The JSE said last night the Japan Securities Dealers' Association had designated it as an appropriate foreign investment market for general (individual and corporate) Japanese investors. The designation is effective from today.

This would permit Japanese investors direct access to the SA [South African] securities market, an avenue hitherto not available to them. The JSE sees the designation as a reflection of the growing confidence of overseas investors in SA securities and hopes the designation will lead to greater foreign participation in the market.

The decision follows the award of a triple B investment grade rating to SA earlier this year by Nippon Securities. The news caused some excitement at the JSE last night. Japan is the world's second largest economy and visiting Japanese businessmen have made it clear they would like to invest substantially in SA.

However, a rush of Japanese investment is not expected at this stage, though this forecast could turn out to be incorrect. One reason given for low Japanese interest is the poor performance of the Tokyo Stock Exchange, which has made Japanese investors cautious.

Ongoing violence in SA is also seen as a deterrent. The Japanese live in a peaceful society and are unsettled by the local situation. They also see exchange controls as an investment barrier. But these could quickly disappear if the Japanese decided to make major investments here, a broker said yesterday.

Initially, Japanese investors are expected to buy shares in companies in the resources sector. Shares that might be favoured include those of the producers of platinum, chrome and ferro-alloys, steel and stainless steel, coal and aluminum.

With the world expected to start feeling a serious shortage of resources by the turn of the century, the Japanese are known to want to secure continuity of supply of such resources for their industries.

Producer Index Dips to 9.7 Percent in Oct

*MB1512125294 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
14 Dec 94 p 19*

[Report by Claire Gebhardt]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The production price index (PPI) has confounded experts with a dip to 9.7 percent in October from 10.1 percent in September. September's foray into double-digit territory was the highest PPI increase in almost 3 years.

Economists yesterday attributed the better-than-expected figure to a slowdown in the rate of increase of food prices particularly of meat and vegetables, a stronger rand and lower oil prices.

Single-digit figures are expected to prevail in November and December. Sanlam [South African National Life Assurance Company] economist Johann Louw said the imported component of the PPI had decreased on a year-on-year basis from 8.7 percent to 6.8 percent because of the recent strength of the rand and lower oil prices.

"It is interesting to note that, excluding food, the year on-year increase is only 7.3 percent."

The Central Statistical Service (CSS) says the PPI for locally produced commodities for domestic consumption increased by 10.4 percent from October 1993 to October 1994—0.1 percentage points up on September's 10.3 percent.

Louw forecast an average increase in the PPI for 1994 of 8.5 percent, against 6.6 percent in 1993. "The slower rate of increase is likely to be reflected in the consumer price index (CPI) in about three to six month's time."

Mathison & Hollidge economist Tracy Ledger said food prices were probably starting to come down and, with more open markets, could come down still further. "Basically, excluding food prices, inflation is very subdued."

Ledger said there was no reason to expect the financial rand would go before mid-1995, which ruled out any collapse lapse in the commercial rand. The level of economic growth in South Africa also posed no threat to inflation.

"There is also no reason for inflation to accelerate among our major trading partners, so the imported component should remain favourable."

According to the CSS monthly changes in the PPI for commodities for local consumption showed relatively large price increases for forestry products (3 percent), fishing products (3.5 percent) leather and leather products (5.9 percent), wood products (2.3 percent), rubber and plastic products (3.7 percent).

Relatively large decreases occurred in the indices for mining and quarrying products (2.7 percent), non-electrical machinery (1 percent) and electricity, gas and water (2.5 percent).

South African Press Review for 15 Dec

MB1512135394

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Lack of Security Around Former Police Commander in Custody—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 15 December in a page 24 editorial comments on the way "certain policemen" treated former Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock, saying he was regarded more "as an honored guest than an alleged criminal facing 106 charges, including eight counts of murder, and two of attempted murder." De Kock had "virtually complete freedom of movement in the police station; he appeared to have control over his guards; he had the use of a cellular phone, from which he made hundreds of calls, including several to a State witness. De Kock's only worry seems to be for his own safety, such was the lack of security." "The behaviour of those who allowed this situation to develop is shocking."

SOWETAN

Police Not 'Even-Handed' in Probing White, Black Killings—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 15 December in a page 14 editorial believes police "treat the murder of black leaders with less enthusiasm than that of whites." The paper points to the killing of former

youth leader Thami Mcerwa in Soweto, saying "the usual taking of pictures at the scene, the expected combing of the area for clues and the general professional bustle were absent." SOWETAN knows that "four attempts were made on Mcerwa's life. We are worried about the manner in which the attack was carried out and the fact that robbery does not seem to have been the motive. All this is indicative of something more than just criminal activity. The police must be more even-handed in the investigation of crime."

BUSINESS DAY

Criticism of COSATU Opposition to Reduction in Tariff Protection—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 15 December in a page 12 editorial looks at the different approaches to "developing South Africa's economy and raising the wealth of her people" by Congress of South African Trade Unions, COSATU, General Secretary Sam Shilowa, Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel, and South African Iron and Steel Corporation, Iscor, Managing Director Hans Smith. COSATU is "heavily into centralised planning and protectionism. If tariffs are reduced, state-owned assets are privatized, wages are frozen and social spending is cut, reconstruction and development will fail, Shilowa believes." "Shilowa might have had half an eye on Iscor, which has started to move away from its heavy reliance on rust-belt, smokestack steel-making towards producing the value-added products that will be crucial to the success of South Africa's economy." Trade and Industry Minister "concurs with the principles espoused by Iscor. Recently he laid it on the line to

textiles manufacturers that they would be encouraged to shape up to international productivity norms by an accelerated reduction in tariff protection." COSATU's strength "lies in numbers" while the economy's best prospect lies in "skills, their development and their enrollment in industrial development." As well as wanting extended protection that might, temporarily, "protect jobs in our rust-belt industries, COSATU wants extended protection for state-owned industrial dinosaurs. They are the next industrial group Manuel needs to fire up with a stiff dose of real competition."

WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN

ANC Challenges at National Congress—The challenge facing the ANC now is the "delivery of at least a reasonable number of its election promises," says the page 26 editorial in Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English for 15-22 December. At its national congress in Bloemfontein "it has to decide what practical and realistic steps are needed to ensure that it can bring social and economic change to its electorate." The priorities of this congress are three-fold: "delivery, delivery and delivery." To get on with things the ANC leadership "has to show the toughness to end rent and service payment boycotts; it has to be prepared to tackle crime and violence; it has to be willing to face a showdown with recalcitrant civil servants; it has to be vigilant in preventing corruption." The "worst" thing the ANC can do at this stage is to "give in to the temptation of populism: making even more promises, threatening critics of the RDP [Reconstruction and Development Program], saying vote-catching things that don't address the crucial need to get on with the business at hand."

Angola**UNITA Gato Says Nation in State of 'War'**

*MB1612150794 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo
Negro in Portuguese 1200 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Talking about the Angolan peace process on 15 December, General Paulo Lukamba Gato said the proceedings of the Joint Commission, which oversees the Lusaka accord's implementation and includes representatives of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], the Angolan Government, and the UN observers, have not been positive because Joint Commission Chairman Alioune Blondin Beye is out of the country.

Gen. Paulo Gato also said it was not possible to work for peace yet because of continuing Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] attacks on UNITA troops. According to the senior UNITA official, clashes under way in the country are part of a specific plan the government is trying to implement at all costs.

Gen. Gato also noted that the Angolan peace process is becoming ever more fragile because of the absence of UN observers. At this stage, the two warring factions are left to their own devices, which hinders the peace accord's effective implementation to a certain extent. The senior UNITA official noted that the situation in the country is one of war if one takes into account the fact that the government Army has stepped up its military operations:

"There are no mechanisms in place to monitor the evolution of the situation. We can say that, at this stage, the country is again caught up in a situation of war. Over the last 24 hours, the government has been deploying aircraft in Catumbela, Menongue, and Saurimo to attack the southern region. The government has taken Cota and is now heading to Calandula in Malanje. More UNITA soldiers are abducted and killed in Uige every day. All of this is taking place while the mediator turns a blind eye. I think the mediator is powerless because he lacks the right type of peacekeeping forces to meet the challenge posed by this peace process."

Gen. Gato also reiterated the UNITA Party's commitment to the search for a peaceful settlement to the Angolan conflict. He noted that was why UNITA signed the Lusaka accord, and he added that evidence of UNITA's commitment is the presence of a UNITA team in the Joint Commission in Luanda. The most important thing at this stage is for the government to immediately stop its military operations, failing which UNITA will have no option but to defend itself:

"On one hand, it has been said that it is necessary to save this process at all costs. But on the other hand, the UN says it will send the Blue Helmets only when the fighting stops completely. (?I would) like to urge the Luanda

government to shoulder its responsibilities. The government has not yet fulfilled its military program of action, and it intends to do so over the next few days. The government should shoulder its responsibilities, because if it continues with the type of action seen in Huambo, Uige, and other areas, it is obvious that the process will be derailed.

"The international community has adopted a double standard toward Angola. It wants peace for Angola at the lowest possible price by investing as little as it can. As the Mozambican peace process was being implemented, it was always said it would be necessary to avoid repeating the mistakes that were made in Angola. So, while one acknowledges that mistakes were made in Angola and that peacekeeping forces ought to be deployed whenever necessary, in the case of Angola, however, there are always difficulties."

Gen. Gato noted that so far the international community has been rather [words indistinct] process. Asked about the contribution made by southern African so far, Gen. Gato said:

"The contribution of southern African countries is very important. It is useful and necessary. We, however, have strong reservations about the impartiality of the forces in question. Specifically, I am referring to South Africa. As you know, South African mercenaries [passage indistinct] and a number of locations have been taken. So, South Africa ought to put itself in a more comfortable position, because it cannot be a player and observer at the same time. We are quite clear about South Africa. If South Africa wishes to participate in the UN peacekeeping [words indistinct] Namibia, they have never hidden their sympathies for the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and its government, though this is not that serious if we take into consideration that southern Africa has responsibilities in the peace process. Zimbabwe and Namibia should shoulder their responsibilities, considering that a degree of neutrality and impartiality is essential in a peace process like this."

General Staff Denies Offensive Underway

*MB1512210094 Luanda TPA Television Network in
Portuguese 1930 GMT 15 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] The spokesman for the General Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces, FAA, says the military situation in Uige Province is worrisome. Brigadier Jota was speaking to TPA in the city of Uige today.

[Begin recording] [Jota] We have brought journalists to Uige so that they can see and deny the reports disseminated by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], according to which FAA forces are launching an offensive toward Negage. That is nothing but mere propaganda. We have brought journalists to Uige to deny the reports.

Government troops have been in the city of Uige since 16 November—72 hours before the signing of the Lusaka Protocol. Obviously, they were here before the cease-fire took effect. When the armed forces entered Uige, UNITA was forced to retreat. It stopped in Negage. Since then, however, UNITA forces have continued to launch operations very close to the city of Uige. They have been abducting civilians, mining roads, and are planning an offensive to try to take advantageous positions on the outlying areas of the city of Uige.

[Unidentified correspondent] It has been reported that UNITA was more than 37 km from (the city of Uige) when the Lusaka protocol was signed. You have said that today UNITA is less than 100 meters from the city. Could this derail the peace process?

[Jota] As I was saying, UNITA was in Negage when the accord was signed. Today, it is a few meters from positions held by our forces. You are aware that the Lusaka protocol says that, after the cease-fire takes effect, the forces should remain where they were at the time. So, one can clearly see that UNITA is violating the accord. What UNITA has been doing in almost every part of Angola is to try to move close to the government positions. This is a violation of the accord. It endangers the peace process. By moving closer to our positions, UNITA is creating the conditions to launch attacks like the ones we have been witnessing. [end recording]

Meanwhile, the FAA General Staff today reiterated that UNITA forces have violated the cease-fire. Brig. Jota says UNITA continues to carry out military operations in various parts of the country.

[Begin Jota recording] Obviously, government forces have tried to react with great caution to prevent the resumption of war. The armed forces have been forced to react in certain situations. For instance, they reacted in Uige after a UNITA attack on a location 5 km from the city of Uige. Several UNITA members were killed, and five others were captured. You have had the opportunity to interview them.

By and large, the cease-fire has been holding, but there have been violations by UNITA forces. I will give you recent examples, not to mention others that the General Staff has already reported. Three days ago, UNITA attacked Lumeje and Cameia in Moxico Province. It failed to occupy the town because FAA reacted and repelled the UNITA attack. On 11 December UNITA attacked Danje, about 6 km from the city of Uige. On 13 December UNITA attacked Balombo. UNITA has been shelling areas in Huila Province, and in Huambo and Menongue.

UNITA has been carrying out specific operations, and in order to justify them, UNITA has claimed that FAA forces are planning military offensives on Negage, Bailundo, and Andulo. That is nothing but lies and shameless propaganda, the sole aim being to divert attention from UNITA's real intentions. [end recording]

FAA Worried About UNITA Buildup Near Uige

MB1612055794 London BBC World Service in Portuguese 2030 GMT 15 Dec 94

[From the "Ultima Hora" program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Angolan Government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] have been accusing each other of violating the cease-fire agreement. Meanwhile, UN officials have expressed serious concern about the situation in Uige Province, where only a few hundred meters separate troops from both sides. [passage omitted]

(Anthony Gogman), a BBC correspondent who recently visited the area, reports the city of Uige is in the government's hands but UNITA continues to control most of the province. The UN Angola Verification Mission [Unavem] has not yet managed to meet senior UNITA military officers in the region. [passage omitted]

In an interview with the BBC Portuguese Service on 15 December, Brigadier (Joaquim Chaoia) expressed concern about the fact that UNITA has been massing forces on the outskirts of Uige. Brig. (Chaoia) added that it was an indication that UNITA was preparing a military operation.

[Begin Chaoia recording] UNITA's armed forces have taken advantage of the cease-fire to move within about 650 meters of the government's forward defensive positions. We are quite concerned about that. There is a team of national and international figures here, including correspondents, and they can see what is happening on the ground. So we are concerned. There have been attempts to contact senior UNITA officers by us and the Unavem chief for the Northern Front, who is with us now. The Unavem chief has been mediating between us and says Unavem has not received any directive whatever from the UNITA leadership. That is our principal concern, in addition to the fact that UNITA continues to deploy forces and war materiel on the outskirts of Uige. In military terms, that is an indication they preparing some military operation against the city. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Military Delegations Discuss Assembly Areas

MB1612055594 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Military chiefs from the government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] delegations to the Joint Commission have been meeting to discuss issues relating to the peace accord's implementation. The two delegations met this morning. According to a military source, today's meeting dealt with several disputes relating to the Joint Commission's internal regulations. Headed by Faustino Muteka for the government and Isaías Samakuva for UNITA, the delegations also discussed

assembly areas for UNITA troops and the Rapid Intervention Police [PIR]. The assembly areas' location is still unknown.

General Chris Garuba, Joint Commission acting chairman and Unavem [UN Angola Verification Mission]-2 commander, was scheduled to meet the government and UNITA delegations.

[Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese at 1900 GMT on 15 December in a related item adds: "The Joint Commission's first plenary session has been scheduled for 19 December. Alioune Blondin Beye, UN special representative in Angola, is scheduled to return to Luanda within the next few days. The agenda is unknown but sources say the session will deal with the Joint Commission's internal regulations. Other sources say the government and UNITA have already dealt with all the outstanding issues brought from Lusaka, including the assembly areas for UNITA and PIR personnel. Gen. Garuba today met with the ad hoc commission of the Angolan Armed Forces and (?his) political and military advisers."]

Doctor Says Savimbi in 'Good Health'

MB1612113594 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 16 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Carlos Morgado, formerly the doctor of Jonas Savimbi, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] leader, said in the Portuguese capital that the UNITA leader was never wounded and is in good health.

Morgado reiterated that Jonas Savimbi's prolonged absence is due to a lack of safety guarantees. In an interview with Portuguese Radio and Television, RTP, Carlos Morgado said he had been with Jonas Savimbi in Angola in the last two weeks. He made it clear that the UNITA leader is in good health.

Police Ready To Integrate UNITA Personnel

MB0912204394 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The integration of National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] elements into the National Police has been assured. That is according to Santana Andre Pitra Petrof, minister of the interior and general police commander.

[Begin Petrof recording] Conditions have been created. Instructors are being trained in Portugal. They will also go to Spain. Spain or Portugal will probably lend us instructors for the massive training of personnel at centers in Luanda and Benguela. We are ready; we have a program. Actually, we can only integrate UNITA elements once all UNITA troops have been confined to assembly points. The technical commission will select 5,000 UNITA members. Afterward, they will be sent to training centers. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Governor on Situation in Cuanza Norte

MB1412055094 Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 17 Nov 94 p 4

[Interview with Cuanza Norte Governor Manuel Pedro Pacavira by JORNAL DE ANGOLA correspondent Cesar Ferreira; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Ferreira] Mr. Governor, what is the situation in Cuanza Norte Province six months after its recapture?

[Pacavira] With regard to food and medical aid, we can say the situation is critical. We have not been able to fully implement our emergency program.

[Ferreira] What are the reasons for the failure to fully implement the program?

[Pacavira] The failure is due to two obstacles. First, the destruction of the bridge over Lucala River. To overcome this problem we resorted to using a pontoon, but during the dry season the river volume fell making it impossible to use the pontoon. By road, we also faced the problem of insecurity, because some groups of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] carried out attacks along the Lucala/N'dalatando road. Second, the short length of the N'dalatando runway only allows the landing of light aircraft and helicopters. What is more, for a long period this runway has been under constant shelling from UNITA. Things changed only in recent months, because the military situation is favorable to government troops.

[Ferreira] Mr. Governor, in the face of the difficulties mentioned above, will the people continue to die of hunger if other alternatives are not found?

[Pacavira] One alternative would be to use the Karianga Airport. It cannot be used because of insecurity. What I can say is that although the situation is still critical, the living conditions of the people have improved, compared to two months ago. As you were able to see during your visit to nutritional centers, there are children, men, and women waiting to be resettled. This situation was not possible a few months ago. These centers are multiplying. We now have a number of international nongovernmental organizations, and we can say that we are encouraged by this situation. We consider the situation still critical, however, because so far we have not received food aid in desired quantities, and medical aid is also nonexistent.

[Ferreira] Mr. Governor, when will the bridge be repaired?

[Pacavira] The National Bridges Company is building a permanent metallic bridge. I plan to visit the bridge this week to assess the work and request its quick conclusion. All the same, the National Bridges Company is usually quick in such cases. It is also aware that if the bridge is not built quickly, the efforts of the nongovernmental organizations to distribute food will be jeopardized.

[Ferreira] Will the people continue to depend on aid?

[Pacavira] The people will continue to depend on the little that they can obtain. The World Food Program and other UN agencies are ready to bring needed products to the people, through nongovernmental organizations, like Concern, World Vision, and Africare, but they cannot do it because of the destruction of the bridge. Many food convoys would have arrived in N'dalatando. They stop in Dondo and supply people there.

[Ferreira] Have you already assessed the destruction of N'dalatando by UNITA?

[Pacavira] No. We have not yet assessed the destruction because we do not view that as a priority. When we were in Dondo, the priority was to free N'dalatando. Now that we are here, the priority is to free other districts of the province. What is more, only the governor and the deputy governor are in the capital of Cuanza Norte. As you are aware, other government officials continue in Luanda. This is a team work. All the same, we are going to make the assessment.

[Ferreira] What are the priorities of Cuanza Norte Government at the present moment?

[Pacavira] To provide food and medical aid. This means that we must provide food and medical aid to all the people and we must rehabilitate the provincial hospital. [passage omitted]

[Ferreira] We hear there are 180,000 war-displaced people around N'dalatando and Lucala. How many of these people receive assistance and how many of them are included in the program of assistance and work?

[Pacavira] When I talk about war-displaced people, I am not referring to people in Dondo, for example. During the months of June and September, we experienced a war situation characterized by shellings against the outskirts of the city and districts. The people in those areas sought refuge in the city. The number of people who had fled their areas seeking refuge in N'dalatando were estimated at 180,000. In general, these people have not yet begun to receive assistance. The people receiving assistance are those found in nutritional centers.

The program of assistance and work will only be realized if we begin to receive large quantities of food for all the needy. Since, we have already registered the people in villages, wards, and residences, when a war-displaced person receives his food ration card, he will also receive tools to be able to begin work. If someone fails to produce food for his self-sufficiency during a determined period, then we shall take measures, which will include canceling food rations.

[Ferreira] Since the food aid is not arriving in large quantities, will you not be falling into a vicious circle, with people returning to their home areas and then finding that they have no food?

[Pacavira] I fully agree that we could have a vicious circle. I am convinced, however, that this will be avoided, because the problem of the bridge over Lucala River and insecurity at Karinga Airport will be overcome. I believe that the military situation in the province will improve further, thus permitting use of the airport.

[Ferreira] Mr. Governor, the people are scattered. Most of your officials are still in Luanda. What prevents these people from returning to Cuanza Norte?

[Pacavira] I think the reasons are subjective....

[Ferreira] We also hear that you, too, are not often here?

[Pacavira] I am here. We were in Cambambe, where I have always worked, and I am always in this province. The deputy governor for defense is also here. The administrator of N'dalatando has also been here since the city was freed. I do not know why some deputy governors, administrators, provincial representatives, and directors have not returned to N'dalatando. I think they are now used to Luanda. There have been there for the past two years, and they are now used to a new type of life and are finding it difficult to return here. They allege there is lack of security, but you gentlemen of the press are here and your life is not in danger. What is more, you are not the first visitors to N'dalatando since UNITA's expulsion.

A man must always change the situation, the living conditions, in his favor. If someone is in Luanda, he cannot expect other people to do things for him. The officials who are in Luanda waiting for the people in N'dalatando to create conditions for them are parasites.

[Ferreira] The provincial government will be unable to maintain them here?

[Pacavira] Parasites will be removed.

[Ferreira] Will there be sackings?

[Pacavira] The decision has already been announced publicly.

[Ferreira] But who has already been relieved of his duties at the present moment?

[Pacavira] At least all district and communal administrators who are not here by 12 November will be relieved of their duties. One of them is the administrator of Samba Caju. [passage omitted]

Currency Devalued 750 Percent in 1994

MB1412060294 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 13 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Angolan currency has been devaluing at an alarming rate in recent days. On the streets of Luanda today, \$100 fetched 90 million kwanzas. Our correspondent Paulo de Carvalho has further details.

[De Carvalho] During the 13 days of this month, the new kwanza has been devalued by 43 percent in the free exchange market. During the first five days of the month, the depreciation rate was 11 percent and it rose to 27 percent during the second week of the month. In other words, while on the last day of November, \$1 fetched 630,000 new kwanzas, today it fetches 890,000 new kwanzas.

The recent devaluation of the Angolan currency is so high that in only one week the depreciation rate rose to 27 percent. The currency has never devalued so much and in such a short time, even at the introduction of the 500,000-kwanza notes. During this year, the currency has already been devalued by about 750 percent. In other words, an item which cost 1 million kwanzas on 1 January, now costs about 8.5 million kwanzas.

Mozambique

Dhlakama Urges Government To Respect Election Results

MB1612080794 Maputo TVM Television Network in Portuguese 1800 GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] President Afonso Dhlakama has called on the Mozambican people—political leaders included—to work together toward a better future, thereby brushing aside all vindictive behavior that might surface. The Renamo leader made that call in a statement he read to Mozambique Television, TVM, and Radio Mozambique reporters:

[Begin Dhlakama recording] Now that elections are over and President Chissano and the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] have won, we have entered a new stage, that of forming a new government that abides by democratic principles, that takes into account the various political leanings in the country, and that respects the various electoral results for each region.

At this time, before the president of the Republic has appointed the new national government and the future provincial governments, I would like to remind the country, our people, and the winning party's current leadership that unity in diversity is the highest rung in the political implementation of democracy in Mozambique.

The variety of cultures and peoples forming the Mozambican nation; the specific nature of electoral results; and, consequently, the diversity of political leanings must be respected, always. Such respect begins with the national and provincial governments, which must reflect such diversity, though we must be united in the search for a better future for all on the basis of national solidarity and reconciliation among all Mozambican people. [end recording]

Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama's remarks are also meant for the new Assembly of the Republic, which has

plunged into a crisis caused by the open vote that led to Eduardo Mulembwe being appointed Assembly chairman. The Renamo leader says the Assembly's proceedings got off to a poor start because of Frelimo's power manipulation tactics.

Afonso Dhlakama, the candidate who was second in elections, believes the Assembly of the Republic must reflect the people's diversity and strive not to be an echo of the government.

[Begin Dhlakama recording] In view of the political diversity that exists in our country and of the dark history of human and civil rights violations practiced by the outgoing government—a dictatorial regime that created ghosts and encouraged behavior contrary to practices of political freedom—the voting for such an important post as Assembly of the Republic chairman should have been secret. It is not that the open vote is antidemocratic or that such a procedure is not the norm in democratic parliaments. [end recording]

The fact is, Renamo sees the secret vote as the best way to elect a chairman or people to other posts with responsibilities similar to those of the Assembly of the Republic chairman. The Renamo leader wound up his statement with a call for the Assembly of the Republic to be the guarantor of multiparty democracy. Dhlakama noted that the Assembly still must approve internal procedures.

Renamo's Ululu on Deadlock Over Chairman Vote

MB1612071694 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 15 Dec 94

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mozambique's brand new multiparty Parliament already has a big wrangle going on. It is over the election of a parliamentary president or speaker. The ruling Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] party called for a show of hands vote for its nominee. The Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] opposition wanted a secret ballot. When they did not get it, they walked out of the proceedings on the first day of Parliament a week ago. Frelimo went ahead and voted in their nominee, but Renamo is still demanding a secret vote and boycotting Parliament. On the line to Maputo, Josephine Hazeley asked Renamo MP and party Secretary General Vicente Ululu why they were continuing the boycott and disrupting Parliament over a secret ballot.

[Begin recording] [Ululu] I think that is not the correct way to put things in order, because, in the past, they used to have an open vote to vote their speakers and since we are now very many there in the Parliament, with different ideas, we would like them to introduce a new system, not a Marxist system of voting, or having an open vote. We would want to have a secret vote and this is being supported by very many people, including even Frelimo members.

[Hazeley] What is the difference between a secret ballot or a show of hands? I mean, you are all there as MP's. Surely, you should be proud to vote for him or not to vote for him openly.

[Ululu] Because there will be no threatening; there will be no... [pauses] you know what happens. For instance, if anyone will not raise up their hand to vote in favor of the speaker, the speaker will think that man did not vote on me, when the time [words indistinct] when he shows up his hand to speak, he will just ignore him and bypass him to another man, and that man will be frustrated. You know human beings are very (?weak) in conscience.

[Hazeley] Frelimo is not breaking the law by having a show of hands are they? They are not doing anything unconstitutional.

[Ululu] Excuse me. I would want to point out this particular point of the Constitution. Constitution in Mozambique was drawn by only one party which was representing the Parliament. In fact, it was not that Parliament, that democratic Parliament, and now, since we are going into a democratic, multiparty Parliament, we should discuss the Constitution. [sentence as heard] There are, of course, very many irregularities in the Constitution; there are also very many irregularities in the standing orders of the House; these should start afresh.

[Hazeley] Are you hopeful that Frelimo will have a fresh ballot, a secret fresh ballot, a new one?

[Ululu] At least we are in the same house as brothers, as members of the same family. We believe that they should suggest some alternatives.

[Hazeley] Now, some people might say you in Renamo are behaving like young boys with a new toy. You have just got into Parliament, now you want to flex all the muscles you have to show that you have got some amount of political power.

[Ululu] Well, let people talk. They are free to talk so, but we stand on own principle of which we believe that the secret vote is the most adequate and democratic one.

[Hazeley] So how far is Renamo prepared to go if Frelimo does not give in to your demand that you have a secret ballot on the speaker? How far are you prepared to go to disrupt the seatings of Parliament?

[Ululu] They never wanted...[pauses] Frelimo never wanted to go to multiparty system. They fought so hard, you know the party politicians who advocated multiparty democracy in this country had been executed, had been killed, and some of them have disappeared without knowing where they are. [sentence as heard] We forced them to go the table and we negotiated for democracy in this country. We went into a democratic process. They accepted the multiparty, they accepted elections in this country, and we hope that they will understand that they are human beings to understand also the voice of human beings. [end recording]

Assembly Chief Meets Renamo Deputy on Reopening

MB1512070094 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0500 GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] There continue to be doubts as to whether the first Assembly of the Republic session will resume this week after it went into recess last week. On 14 December Assembly Chairman Dr. Eduardo Mulembwe had another meeting with Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] Deputy Raul Domingos. The Assembly chairman and President of the Republic Joaquim Chissano were scheduled to meet last night in a bid to settle the deadlock.

The Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] Assembly deputies have appointed Armando Guebuza as chief of the Frelimo bench. Virgilia Matabele will be deputy Frelimo bench chief. Sergio Vieira was chosen as spokesman. The Frelimo bench also appointed a working group to review the Assembly's internal procedures.

Parliament Chairman Mulembwe Profiled

MB1412055694 Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 9 Dec 94 p 1

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Before being elected as chairman of the Assembly of the Republic, Dr. Eduardo Mulembwe was the attorney general and chief public prosecutor. He had been relieved of his post by the president of the Republic on 7 December to allow him to take his seat in Parliament. He was born 40 years ago in Lago District, Niassa Province.

He studied law at Eduardo Mondlane University from 1980 to 1984, having worked as judge of the City of Maputo's Tribunal and member of the Administrative Tribunal. He was named attorney general and public prosecutor in 1991.

Eduardo Mulembwe is one of the 15 members of Frelimo's [Mozambique Liberation Front] Political Commission and chairman of that party's Verification Committee. During the elections he headed Frelimo's list of candidates in the Niassa constituency, where the party won seven of the 11 seats. [passage omitted]

Frelimo's Parliament Whip, Spokesman Named

MB1512055794 Maputo TVM Television Network in Portuguese 1800 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Member of parliament Armando Guebuza has been appointed Frelimo's [Mozambique Liberation Front] whip in the Assembly of the Republic. His deputy will be Virgilia Matabele from the Zambezia Province constituency. The appointments come in the wake of meetings Frelimo deputies have held since 7 December. Sergio Vieira will serve as spokesman for the Frelimo bench. In its first communique issued today,

Frelimo says it has appointed a working group to review the Assembly of the Republic's regulations.

Supreme Command To Give Plans to Government

MB1512060494 Maputo TVM Television Network in Portuguese 1800 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The future of the Mozambique Defense Armed Forces [FADM] is in the hands of the new government. The FADM Supreme Command will over the next few days submit its plan to Chissano's government.

[Begin recording] [Supreme Command member Mateus Ngonyamo] The Mozambique state will comment on the size of the FADM.

[Correspondent] But does the Supreme Command not have a plan for the formation of the new army?

[Ngonyamo] Well, we have a plan, but it will be submitted to the government.

[Correspondent] When?

[Ngonyamo] As soon as it is viable.

[Correspondent] Does the plan call for a 30,000-strong FADM?

[Ngonyamo] Well, it is not up to the Supreme Command to determine the size of the armed forces. That is the responsibility of the Mozambican state. We can give our views as professionals who know the country and its strategic areas, but they will only take effect after the government gives its approval.

[Correspondent] As a professional soldier, what figure can you give?

[Ngonyamo] I cannot be specific about that, but we have already done our homework. [end recording]

Troops Demand Salary Increases

MB1412210294 Maputo TVM Television Network in Portuguese 1800 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Mozambican troops are demanding salary increases. Dozens of junior and senior specialists today took to the streets and then stood outside the government palace in downtown Maputo. They are demanding the second installment of salary increases. [passage omitted]

At a meeting with the outgoing deputy finance minister, the troops' ad hoc commission was informed that they were only entitled to a single installment. He urged the commission to contact Deputy Defense Minister Antonio Hama Thai for further details. The troops intend to meet Thai tomorrow morning.

Mine Removal Experts Quarrel With RSA Experts

MB1512143894 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Mozambican mine removal experts who were part of the UN mine removal teams in Manica and Sofala Provinces now say they are treated with contempt by their South African colleagues. One Mozambican mine removal expert said he was indignant about the contempt and insults he and other Mozambican experts have received from South African experts contracted by Lonrho [London Rhodesia Company]. They have just finished a mine removal program comprising 2,000 km of roads in central Manica and Sofala Provinces. [passage omitted]

Portugal Heads List of Foreign Investors

LD1512222394 Lisbon RDP Antena 1 Radio Network in Portuguese 2100 GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Portugal has tripled its private investment in Mozambique. In comparison to last year, Portugal has gone up from third to first place on the table, overtaking even Great Britain which until now was the country which had the highest investment in Mozambique. More details from Marcelino Alves:

[Alves] Portugal has overtaken Britain and South Africa as far as private investment in Mozambique is concerned. During 1994 almost half the foreign investment in Mozambique—some 30 million dollars—came from Portuguese private investors. Private investors invested a total of 160 million dollars in Mozambique which represents three times last year's investment. The biggest Portuguese investment is in the cement and banking sectors. Banco Comercial Portugues will be coming here in January and is the third to do so following Banco de Fomento Exterior and Banco Portugues do Atlantico. South Africa is the second investor, with over \$18 million invested and Britain is the third with some four million. The British were until now the biggest foreign investors. Italy continues to head the group of aid donating countries in Mozambique followed by the United States. [passage omitted]

Swaziland

European Union Warns Country To Change Ways

MB1612144594 Mbabane THE SWAZI OBSERVER in English 16 Dec 94 pp 1, 2

[Report by Sandile Ntshakala]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Europe has told Swaziland: Change your economical ways or lose our aid.

The European Union announced yesterday that it had been providing financial and technical support to Swaziland since 1975—and that approximately E700 million

[emalangen] in aid, for agriculture and rural development, education and training, economic infrastructure, trade and industry as well as loans from the European Investment Bank [EIB].

It said between 1975 and this year, the EIB contributed more than E190 million for developing the Kingdom. With the Lome IV Convention being reviewed, there is also need for Swaziland to change with the region at large, and to examine her policies regarding investment instruments and conditions to review legislation, guarantees, incentives and training in the last years of the 20th century.

This follows a visit by EC's [European Commission] Mr Luis Ritto of the Investment and Private Sector Department. "The European Union is ready to assist the government of Swaziland in designing an economic strategy for the future and in helping in its implementation. For this reason the European Commission has recently forwarded to the government of Swaziland the terms of reference for an action plan which, if accepted, would create the conditions for growth, to become an attractive location for investment and to become more competitive in world markets.

"As far as we know, the proposal from the European Commission was well received in government and private circles although there are many sensitive issues at stake, which need to be tackled with enthusiasm and sustained consistency. Such issues are fundamental for the success of any action plan in favour of the economic development of Swaziland," said Mr. Rito.

Among the matters under discussion are the following:—
Land accessibility and industrial estates—There are problems of land accessibility and availability under the current tenure system of Swaziland which, to varying degrees, limits its use for commercial activities and inhibits the country's economic and industrial development. Besides, the "Land Decree" of 1989 could usefully be reviewed in the light of new competitive circumstances in the region and in the current and future interests of Swaziland and her people.

"The industrial estates in Swaziland need new land to be made available for expansion and to cater for future investors. Also, infrastructure and services (water, telephone, sewage and electricity) need to be upgraded and to be made cost-effective.

—Industrial Strategy—There appears to be no comprehensive strategy for industrial development in Swaziland with well-defined goals for the most desired types

of investment in the country as criteria for investment (for example: labour-intensive, export-oriented and value-added industries).

—Investment Guarantees— There is no comprehensive set of guarantees against expropriation without due compensation nor a disputes settlement system in Swaziland. Legislation is needed for these areas.

—Investment Centres—There is also a need for an investment centre or centres in Swaziland. Investment promotion efforts in the country are diffuse, without proper strategy and private sector involvement. Swaziland needs to have at her disposal unified institutional capacity to deal effectively with existing and potential domestic and overseas investment.

—Approval system and Tax Incentives—At present there is no automatic approval system for investments in Swaziland, but rather a "case-by-case" procedure (monitored by the Ministries of Commerce and Industry, Finance and Planning) which is long, cumbersome and bureaucratic. Besides, the current tax system is not adequate for the needs of the country and is limited in scope. It could be changed to advantage in favour of a general incentives scheme which is available to all manufacturers (local and overseas) eliminating the need for tax holidays and introducing (i) a flat, low corporate tax rate for all manufacturers and (ii) a zero-rating sales tax for imported machinery and equipment.

The European Commission is prepared to commit financial and technical assistance to Swaziland when all those above-mentioned matters are dealt with satisfactorily by government. The experience other countries has shown that the government has acted vigorously by creating the right framework conditions for the private sector to develop, no programmes or projects should be undertaken, for they are condemned to fail. Since the European Commission is using money of the European taxpayers it cannot afford to make mistakes on its development programmes.

The European Commission is committed to the support necessary to help make Swaziland, once again, a prosperous country in the Southern Africa region but this should take place in the framework and conditions which are conducive to success and a reasonable return on the investment for sides in the already successful partnership between the E.U. and Swaziland. The European Union is represented in Swaziland by Gabriel Lee, Head of Delegation of the European Commission, Mbabane.

Liberia**Fighting Flares Up Outside Monrovia 12 Dec****Armed Men Attack ECOMOG Base***AB1312175094 Paris AFP in English 1448 GMT 13 Dec 94*

[By James Dorbor]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Monrovia, 13 Dec (AFP)—The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has threatened to abandon war-racked Liberia to its fate and withdraw its peacekeeping troops if the latest talks to resolve the conflict fail. "If the pending Accra peace talks fail to achieve an agreement this time, the consequences will be disastrous," visiting Ghanaian Deputy Foreign Minister Mohamed Chabmas said late Monday.

In another development, armed men overnight Monday [12 December] attacked ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] troops guarding suspected Liberian coup plotters facing trial in Monrovia in a bid to free them, UN sources said here. It was not clear if anybody was hurt in the reported attack on the Fendell University campus, 15 kilometres (nine miles) northeast of Monrovia, which has not been confirmed by ECOMOG.

A previous bid to free retired General Charles Julue and 10 other senior officers of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) was foiled by ECOMOG at the start of the month. ECOMOG also thwarted the coup bid of 25 September. [passage omitted]

In Accra, Ghanaian Foreign Minister Obed Asamoah on Tuesday issued an "urgent appeal to all Liberians to give peace a chance". He told parliament that complete breakdown of the deadlocked "last" peace bid carried a grave risk of "de-stabilisation of the sub-region". More factions to add to the "six" currently battling in the West African country are "on the horizon", he warned, and unarmed civilians were likely to organise their own "fighting forces" if ECOMOG troops pull out. [passage omitted]

Warning that the search for a negotiated solution "may soon be abandoned", Asamoah admitted the "reasons for the impasse" were the same as those which had wrecked every bid for a negotiated settlement. "Unless you resolve the power-sharing issue you cannot get the parties to deal with disarmament issues," he said. [passage omitted]

NPFL Recaptures Gbarnga*AB1312190094 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 13 Dec 94*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] After months of bitter fighting and claims and counterclaims about who holds the central Liberian town of Gbarnga, it looks as if Charles Taylor's NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] faction are back in control. The headquarters came under attack from rival forces, including ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia] in September and for a while it was claimed that the NPFL had been driven out, but our correspondent, Jonathan Peyley, has spent the last couple of days in Gbarnga and he faxed this report from Ganta:

NPFL commanders who took me on a tour of the city today said that Gbarnga was recaptured by the NPFL at the weekend in a special operation codenamed Operation Envelope. When I arrived in Gbarnga yesterday afternoon, NPFL fighters could be seen patrolling the main streets, swaggering up and down with heavily loaded guns.

Briefing the press at the once prestigious but now destroyed Executive Palace, Lieutenant General (Saturday Tua), alias General Rambo, regretted the blunder that led to the fall of Gbarnga to opposition forces. The general then displayed a huge consignment of ammunition, including long range ground-to-air missiles, rocket propelled grenades, and explosives which, he claimed, were seized from rival forces who fled the town at the weekend. According to Gen. (Tua), apart from a few ULIMO soldiers who had managed to escape, all rival forces were trapped and dealt with. Ninety percent of the buildings on the main street, namely stores and shops, were burned down in the fighting and in addition to the Executive Palace, several key areas including the radio station, a Catholic school compound, and the Ministry of Lands and Mines were set ablaze. The casualties of the war could be seen in several areas. A few yards from the radio station, I saw 10 decomposed bodies of young men.

NPFL Forces Fighting ECOMOG*AB1412181594 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 14 Dec 94*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Charles Taylor's NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] forces are reported to have been involved in fighting with West African peacekeepers in Liberia over the last two days. According to ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], the battles have been taking place in and around the huge American-owned rubber plantation at Harbel, which lies on one of the main roads out of the capital, Monrovia. From there, Nyenati Allison telexed this report:

ECOMOG chief of staff Brigadier General Gabriel Anyankpele said the rebel troops were concentrated in the abandoned Firestone rubber plantations from where they have been attacking ECOMOG positions since

yesterday morning. The fighting has forced many civilians to flee the area and the only highway northward to the plantation has been closed. Brig. Gen. Anyankpele said the African peacekeeping forces were in defensive posture but would return fire with fire. Heavily armed troops backed by tanks were seen moving in the direction of the fighting today as cannon fire boomed in the northern regions of Monrovia.

A spokesman for the interim government said the fighting interrupted the trial of Charles Julue, which was due to resume today in Fendell along the road to the plantation. Julue and 10 other dissidents of the Armed Forces of Liberia, AFL, are facing sedition charges for their role in a recent coup attempt.

Meanwhile, the United Nations mission in Liberia today identified six provincial capitals as safe havens for thousands of people trapped by fighting around Liberia. The UN statement said the areas, which include Gbarnga in central Liberia, were chosen due to population concentration and easy access to infrastructures for relief activities.

Clashes Close to Monrovia

AB1512175394 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 15 Dec 94

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] As the fighting in Liberia continues unabated in spite of the peace efforts, it's all getting uncomfortably close to the capital, Monrovia. This week, fighting flared up in the Firestone Rubber Plantations on the outskirts of the city. Last night there were killings in the Monrovia suburb. Who exactly is involved is not clear, but there is talk of Charles Taylor's NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] or soldiers of the Armed Forces of Liberia, AFL. From Monrovia, Nyenati Allison telexed this report:

Seventeen civilians were hacked to death and 12 others wounded in a night time attack on the eastern suburb of Paynesville. Security sources said this morning that the wounded were receiving treatment at the Catholic hospital. They said militiamen had infiltrated ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] defenses around the capital and killed the civilians in Paynesville. The sources added that the African peacekeepers were in hot pursuit of the attackers, suspected to be hiding in a northern suburb of Gardenersville. The peacekeepers today cordoned off Paynesville and its outlying suburb as cannon fire boomed in the direction of the Firestone Rubber Plantations.

The Free Port, Liberia's only sea outlet, was closed to traffic early this morning, and people in a nearby market were told to go home. Columns of ECOMOG troops were seen moving toward the northern suburb. Liberian telecommunications officials said they had been

informed that the fighting was spreading to the Telecom Satellite station in the northern ridges of Paynesville.

Taylor Denies Plans on Monrovia

AB1512183594 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 15 Dec 94

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] leader Charles Taylor is on a bit of a roll at the moment: He has recaptured his headquarters town of Gbarnga, although the place is apparently completely wrecked, and there is speculation that he is launching a bid to capture Monrovia with another "Operation Octopus" like the assault on the city in October 1992. Well, Charles Taylor is currently in Santa. Robin White asked him if another "Operation Octopus" was underway.

[Begin recording] [Taylor] That is not true; we are not interested in war, we want peace. It is unfortunate that our forces came under fire from the Nigerian contingency of ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] Cease-Fire Monitoring Group [ECOMOG] while we were pursuing people that have been attacking our positions and causing death and destruction.

[White] These incidents in Paynesville, are they your men involved in that or not?

[Taylor] Well, I will have to verify from the field if any people from the coalition forces went into that area. It is possible and even probable that attempts were made to diminish their ability to come back and attack our positions, but I will have to wait until I get a report from the forward line on that.

[White] But you are talking about your people being involved in fighting with ECOMOG, isn't that all a bit ominous?

[Taylor] Well, ECOMOG forces attacked our positions and all we were trying to do was to defend ourselves. What they have done, they've been in the habit of harboring these people calling themselves coalition forces. As we pursue them, they go into the ECOMOG camp and ECOMOG comes out firing trying to protect them. In such a case, of course, we would return fire. We are not interested in any fight with the Nigerian contingent; it is not ECOMOG. Even to prove that we have en route to Abuja a top-level NPFL delegation to meet with President Abacha to explain that we do not want war, we want peace.

[White] It does sound, Mr. Taylor, that after a period of having suffered military setbacks and lost your own capital in Gbarnga that you are now on the offensive, would that be right?

[Taylor] No, that is not correct. We know that the Nigerians armed the LPC [Liberian Peace Council] and

ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia] to enter our headquarters. We have engaged in an "Operation Tie Them Up" and then destroyed most of the army that came in. And all we are trying to do, under a new operation codenamed "Grasshopper" is trying to diminish their ability to make any new war.

[White] But how far are you prepared to push this?

[Taylor] No, I am not prepared to push it. What we have to do outside of Gbarnga, just behind an area of the UN compound called Kokoya Road, some 2,000 people were murdered by LPC forces upon their arrival. There is a killing (?scene) out there. We must create an environment and a zone to protect our people. While I was in Accra, everybody combined and attacked Gbarnga and murdered more than 2,000 innocent civilians, including on the United Nations compound. Our "Operation Grasshopper" now is designed to destroy their ability to do this anymore.

[White] What do you regard as your frontline now? Where is that?

[Taylor] Well, in a guerrilla warfare as this right now, we have several fronts, some of them are very deep, some them are shallow...

[White] Is your frontline now the middle of Monrovia?

[Taylor] No, no, no, not at all; not at all: We are not going to threaten Monrovia, although there is good reason for politicians to be afraid of Monrovia because they are delaying the peace process right now. So something ought to scare the wits out of them, so we have no regrets about that. But the important thing is that we support Chairman Rawlings and his efforts and we will do nothing to delay the peace process. In fact, I am going to Accra myself as soon as he calls. [end recording]

'At Least 48' Killed in Suburb

AB1512192394 Paris AFP in English 1847 GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Monrovia, Dec 15 (AFP)—At least 48 Liberians including women and children were killed in fighting in an outer Monrovia suburb Thursday [15 December], according to an AFP correspondent who counted the bodies after they were brought to the city centre.

The bodies, many of them burnt and dismembered, were buried in a mass grave near the city centre late in the afternoon.

AFP Confirms Deaths

AB1612123594 Paris AFP in English 1150 GMT 16 Dec 94

[By James Dorbor]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Monrovia, Dec 16 (AFP)—Liberian press expressed outrage Friday [16 December]

over the killings of at least 48 people in fighting in an outer suburb, the worst violence in war-battered Monrovia for over two years.

The bodies, counted by an AFP correspondent, were paraded late Thursday through the city centre by an angry crowd running into thousands, chanting "We want peace" and "the senseless killings must stop".

The Liberian capital has swollen to over a million since the war began as civilians flee the gunmen-infested countryside.

"The bullets must stop here," stormed the INQUIRER newspaper in an editorial, describing the killings as "madness and uncivilised".

The rival MONROVIA DAILY added: "We, the unarmed majority, must voice our displeasure and make these warlords aware that Liberia is not a jungle."

The killings in the Paynesville suburb, 10 kilometres (six miles) southeast of the city centre, have been attributed to Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front (NPFL). Fighting there broke out late Wednesday after a series of shooting incidents near the city earlier this week.

Members of the African peacekeeping force ECOMOG brought Paynesville back under control around 4 p.m. (1600 GMT) Thursday and the area was reported to be calm Friday.

Several houses were burnt down during the fighting and sporadic shooting could still be heard outside the city during the night-time curfew.

A government pathologist said 33 bodies were found among six burnt-out houses, some stabbed or with "multiple gunshot wounds." At least 20 civilians were receiving treatment for gunshot wounds and burns in hospitals around the city Friday.

ECOMOG's [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] Nigerian commander General John Inienger late Thursday blamed the incident on "NPFL fighters and their collaborators" and said ECOMOG had not suffered any losses.

There is no estimate of the number of gunmen among the dead, but most of the bodies were women and children, dressed in civilian clothes. Many babies were among the dead, often with their bodies dismembered.

The killings come amid deadlock in a so-called "last" attempt to negotiate an end to the five-year-old civil war and threats by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to withdraw ECOMOG forces if a peace deal cannot be reached.

The crowd parading the bodies through the city in a pick-up truck late Thursday carried the charred body of a child to the US Embassy and called for US intervention to end the war.

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Businesses in the city centre were reopening Friday after most shut their doors the previous day. Schools were also reopening, although most parents were keeping their children at home.

The Liberian conflict broke out in December 1989 as an NPFL rebellion against the bloodstained regime of former President Samuel Doe, who was tortured to death by an NPFL splinter group nine months later in Monrovia.

ECOMOG Commander on Clashes

AB1612121194 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 16 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States] field commander has disclosed that fighters of the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] have for the past three days attacked ECOMOG positions at 15th Gate, using mortars and rocket propelled grenades. General John Inienger said the attacks, which have been contained, have continued relentlessly. Such relentless action, ECOMOG says, indicates that the motive of the NPFL forces is to break ECOMOG's defense and encircle the ECOMOG troops in the area. ECOMOG has assured that the situation is under control in areas controlled by ECOMOG.

The field commander said ECOMOG shall remain faithful to its mandate, as directed by ECOWAS [Economic Community of West Africa States], and therefore they cannot be intimidated by any antics or insurgents, nor will they abandon their responsibility to Liberia and Liberians, no matter the odds. The field commander disclosed that efforts are underway to clear all armed [word indistinct] areas where they threaten safe havens maintained by ECOMOG. The field commander said ECOMOG remains in a state of alertness and readiness, and also it has been [words indistinct]. The field commander disclosed that ECOMOG is neutral and is not in support of or against any of the factions. He said as neutral peacekeepers, the primary interest is to preserve the peace and ECOMOG will have to contend with anyone who (?attempts) to destroy the peace.

Nigeria

Decree Extends Ban on Three Media Houses

AB1212170794 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1500 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A decree extending the proscription and prohibition from circulation of newspapers and magazines published by three media houses has been promulgated. The media houses are the CONCORD group, THE PUNCH, and THE GUARDIAN. A statement by the Federal Ministry of Justice in Lagos today warned the three media houses to desist from publication or circulation of the newspapers and magazines.

Government Authorizes Judges To Accept Gifts

AB1412170794 Paris AFP in English 1538 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Lagos, 14 Dec (AFP)—The Nigerian military junta has decreed that court judges may accept gifts of money or property from individuals and groups, a judicial source said Wednesday here. But lawyers said that such a law is dangerous and capable of rendering the judicial system corrupt. "The virus of corruption and debauchery now permeating this country today begins from there. It means that the Body of Benchers (made up of judges in the magistrates, high, appeal and supreme courts) can be bribed by government or individuals", renowned Lagos-based lawyer and human rights activist, Chief Gani Fawehinmi, told AFP.

According to the law, a copy of which AFP obtained Wednesday [14 December], the judges may accept the gift "upon such terms and conditions, if any, as may be specified by the person or organisation" making it. The decree, however, said that the judges shall not accept any gift "if the conditions attached thereto by the person or organisation making the gift to the acceptance thereof are inconsistent with or inimical to the functions of the Body of Benchers".

"That syndrome of bribery is very dangerous for the legal profession," added Fawehinmi. Speaking in the same vein, a lawyer and a member of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, Aideloje Bello, described the decree as "untidy legislation" which is capable of corrupting the judicial system.

The decree, signed into law last 9 November by head of state General Sani Abacha, took a retroactive effect from July 31, 1992. The junta has this year taken draconian measures against the pro-democracy movement, the press, the labour unions and also the courts, restricting their powers to challenge its decisions and actions.

Government Disappointed With Amnesty Report

AB1412224394 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Federal Government has expressed disappointment with the report of Amnesty International, accusing it of human rights violations without hearing the government side of the issues involved. The secretary to the government of the Federation, Alhaji Aminu Saleh, expressed government's feelings when he received a delegation of Amnesty International, led by Mr. Drummeh, in his office. Correspondent Garba Abubakar has the details.

[Begin recording] [Abubakar] Amnesty International had, in its report of 11 November 1994 published and circulated throughout the world, criticized the government for human rights violations based on information it received from affiliate human rights organizations

operating in Nigeria. The leader of the Amnesty International delegation, Mr. Tiebele Drummeh, said they were in Nigeria to get the government side on the issues involved and seek ways of securing the freedom of those they termed prisoners of conscience. The secretary to the government of the Federation, Alhaji Aminu Saleh, expressed his displeasure with the publication and circulation of the document before coming to the government for its side. Alhaji Aminu Saleh said the Abacha-led government is humane, helping and working toward a democratic government for Nigeria. He advised the organization to seek all sides of an issue before going to print.

[Saleh] We do not hide what we do. We have put all our cards on the table for anybody to see. This is because we do not come here to stay long: We are here because of the situation then in the country, which required an intervention to save the country from total collapse. Because of this, we are [word indistinct] ready to allow the constitutional conference to complete its own assignment, and from then on, we [word indistinct] a program that will give the second phase of our disengagement program.

[Abubakar] The secretary to the government of the Federation said that running a government is different from running a club, and no responsible government will allow individual interest to supersede that of the state. Alhaji Aminu Saleh added that since governments are based on set-down rules, those who violate such rules and regulations cannot go scot-free, emphasizing that this government is not operating outside the [word indistinct] of laws. [end recording]

Oil Minister Explains Disruption in Fuel Supply

AB1412224994 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Petroleum and Mineral Resources Minister Chief Don Etiebet says the several incidents which have resulted in the epileptic operations of the nation's refineries and petrol depots is to ensure smooth operation and supply of petroleum products. [sentence as heard] He told newsmen in Lagos today that incidents at the Port Harcourt and Warri refineries, along with the reported fire at the loading ramp of the NNPC [Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation] depot in Enugu, have caused a disruption in the supply and distribution of petroleum products in some parts of the country. He said that several theories have been propounded as to the motive behind the incidents but added that government is investigating them so as to determine the true causes and measures to prevent future occurrence:

[Begin Etiebet recording] We are doing everything possible to get petroleum products available to you at your filling stations during this season and always. And if there is any lapse you should try and bear with us, because most of these things have happened as accidents. We've been planning using your children, we've been planning using your brothers and sisters, we've been planning using your husbands and wives, we've been planning with the Nigerian people, and if the Nigerian people decide not to—in these particular circumstances, in this particular industry [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Correspondent Ernest Anoyo reports that Chief Etiebet revealed that for a period last month, all the refineries in the country have one problem or another which affected their output seriously. While government is not ruling out sabotage, it will await the findings of its investigation before taking appropriate measures.

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